

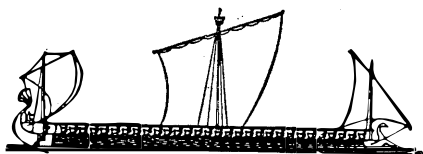
SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

A STUDY IN RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

K. A. KITCHEN

*Lecturer in Egyptian and Coptic in the
University of Liverpool*

14



ARGONAUT INC., PUBLISHERS
CHICAGO MCMLXIX

Distributed by
ARGONAUT INC., PUBLISHERS
737 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

near
DT
87
-K5
1962

COPYRIGHT © 1962 BY
K. A. Kitchen

First published 1962

ROBERT COLLEGE
LIBRARY

DEC 17 1969

ISTANBUL, TURKEY



PRINTED AND BOUND IN ENGLAND BY
HAZELL WATSON AND VINEY LTD
AYLESBURY AND SLOUGH

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
ABBREVIATIONS USED	ix
I The Significance of Suppiluliuma's Queens	1
II The Text <i>KUB XIX</i> , 9	3
III The Amarna Pharaohs	5
IV Certain Syrian Amarna Letters	12
V Suppiluliuma, Syria and the Amarna Pharaohs	22
VI Ugarit, Egypt and Hatti	34
VII An Outline Table of Events for the Period	37
<i>Excursus I: KBo VI</i> , 28, obv. 6-25 and Suppiluliuma's Reign	51
<i>Excursus II: Synopsis of Hittite Offering-lists for the Royal Ancestors</i>	52
INDEX OF ANCIENT PROPER NAMES	57



98945

PREFACE

THE purpose of this monograph is to draw up a reasonable outline of events in Egypt, Syria and Hatti in the 14th century B.C., by linking together the histories of Suppiluliuma I of Hatti, the Amarna pharaohs Amenophis III to Haremhab, and certain Syrian princes (Amarna letters). Doubtless, the eventual appearance of new facts or an improved understanding of old ones will enable others to correct or amplify the picture given here, but perhaps this outline will serve as a convenient summary in the light of certain recent advances, notably the discovery and publication of the diplomatic archives from Ugarit, Güterbock's new edition of the Deeds of Suppiluliuma, and some new points bearing on the Amarna pharaohs. No attempt has been made to fix absolute dates for the events dealt with; only a flexible relative chronology is sought here. The double dates in the Outline Table of Events (section VII below) are given for convenience, not from conviction.

This study grew out of work done in 1959 in connection with courses in Egyptian history, and I had originally intended to publish it as an article. However, it became increasingly apparent that its length would prejudice its early appearance in most of the appropriate periodicals. At this juncture my senior colleague, Professor H. W. Fairman, suggested that it might appear in book form and most kindly offered to include it in the series of Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies edited by him. Nor does my indebtedness and gratitude to him end here, for he has also read over the whole manuscript with me, suggested numerous improvements in style and furnished me with additional references. Throughout, however, for the views expressed and such blemishes as remain, the responsibility is mine.

K. A. KITCHEN

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

ANET – J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton, 1950; 2nd ed., 1955.

ASAE – *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo.

2 BoTu – E. Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, Band 2, Leipzig, 1926.

BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, New Haven.

COA I, II, III – Peet, Woolley, Frankfort, Pendlebury, et alii, *The City of Akhenaten* I, 1923; II, 1933; III, 1951, London.

CRAIBL – *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris.

Deeds – H. G. Güterbock, 'The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his son, Mursili II' in *JCS* 10 (1956), cited by fragment-number and page.

EA – El-Amarna tablets, numbered according to the editions of J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1907–15, and S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets*, Toronto, 1939.

JCS – *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven.

JEA – *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London.

JEOL – *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden.

JNES – *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago.

KBo – *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig and Berlin.

KlasF – *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1, Weimar, 1927–30.

KUB – *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin.

MDOG – *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin.

MIO – *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin.

MVÄG – *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig.

PD – E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1923, cited by Treaty-number, lines of text and page-numbers.

PRU III, IV – J. Nougayrol, *Palais Royal d'Ugarit* III, IV, Paris, 1955, 1956.

RHA – *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, Paris.

SBo I, II – H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy* I, II, Berlin, 1940, 1942.

Ug. III – C. F. A. Schaeffer, E. Laroche, et alii, *Ugaritica III*, Paris, 1956.

ZÄS – *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Leipzig and Berlin.

I

The Significance of Suppiluliuma's Queens

THE evidence of the Hittite royal offering-lists¹ indicates that Suppiluliuma had three successive great queens: Daduhepa (or Duduhepa), Henti and Tawananna in this order. That these offering-lists run through-out in the chronological order of the kings and queens,² besides incorporating other members of the royal family, is especially evident when they are set out in order, side by side. For a convenient synopsis, see Excursus II, below.

The order Daduhepa-Henti-Tawananna for Suppiluliuma's queens is attested also from documents other than the offering-lists. That Tawananna, daughter of a king of Babylon,³ was Suppiluliuma's last queen is clear from her surviving her husband and the brief reign of Arnuwandas II, and living on into the reign of Mursil II who had trouble with her.⁴ Therefore the other two queens Daduhepa and Henti must precede Tawananna. The latter also must belong specifically to the *latter* part of Suppiluliuma's reign so as to allow time in the first part for the other two queens. That Henti is 'next latest' queen before Tawananna is just possibly to be inferred from a mention of her in a document⁵ recording the installation of Suppiluliuma's son Telipinus as priest in Kizzuwatna and men-

1. For these, see full treatment by H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951), 47-71; Text A, already in Otten, *MDOG* 76 (1938), 46-47. Earlier partial editions of Texts B, C, D, E, in Forrer, 2 *BoTU*, Nos. 27, 28, 25, 29, 24, and in *KUB* XI, 11, 4, 7, 10, 8/9, respectively.

2. On this, see in particular Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957), 53-55, 58. Note, however, that the Walanni of *KUB* xxv, 14/*KBo* 11, 15 cannot well be the wife of Hattusil II (who reigned *after* Tudkhalia II and queen Nikkalmati), Goetze, *op. cit.*, 58, n. 67 end, but could well be a later wife of Huzziyas II or an earlier wife of Tudkhalia II before Nikkalmati, Goetze, *loc. cit.*

3. For her origin, see *SBo* 1, 6-9; Laroche, *Ug. III*, 99. That Tawananna may have been called also Malnigal is just possible on the combined cuneiform and Hittite hieroglyphic evidence, but quite uncertain, Laroche, *op. cit.*, 100.

4. *KUB* XIV, 4, 1, 5-13 in particular. Recently treated by Laroche, *op. cit.*, 102-103. Tawananna as dowager queen is associated with Mursil II on Hittite hieroglyphic seals, *op. cit.*, 99 and *SBo* 1, seals 30-36.

5. *KUB* XIX, 25. Transcribed and translated by Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, New Haven, 1940, 12-14.

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

tioning Arnuwandas as crown prince: this Telipinus was later appointed king in Aleppo.¹ To exercise their functions effectively, Telipinus and the heir-apparent Arnuwandas must already have been adults, at least in their twenties, when Telipinus was appointed in Kizzuwatna. This would suggest a date for this document – and for Henti as queen – toward the middle of Suppiluliuma's reign. The only logical place left for Daduhepa is then the first part of the reign.²

It is thus absolutely certain that documents which bear the name of the third queen, Tawananna, must belong to the latter half of Suppiluliuma's reign. This applies to certain documents in the royal archives of Ugarit which record the Ugaritic king Niqmad II's acceptance of an alliance with Suppiluliuma.³ This alliance and these documents with Tawananna's name certainly date from the so-called 'First'⁴ Syrian War of Suppiluliuma, in which he overcame Isuwa, proceeded through Mitanni and conquered Aleppo, Mukiš, Nuḥašše and Qadesh.⁵ On this evidence, therefore, the 'First' Syrian War must be dated relatively late in Suppiluliuma's reign, certainly in the second half, not many years before the 'Second' Syrian War when Suppiluliuma besieged Carchemish and the pharaoh Tutankhamūn died. This rather contradicts a common interpretation of the text *KUB* XIX, 9, which we must now discuss.

1. *KUB* XIX, 9, 1, 18. See below, section II; and Forrer, *Forschungen*, 2:1, Berlin, 1926, 10. For *KBo* VI, 28, obv. 21, see Excursus I below, and F. Bilabel and A. Grohmann, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens*, 16–11. *Jahrh.*, Heidelberg, 1927, 307.

2. Mention of Daduhepa with Suppiluliuma in *KUB* XXVI, 57, obv. 8 (Goetze, *JAOS* 72 (1952), 69, n. 16) apparently has little direct chronological value. If the offering-lists C and G (see Excursus II, below) actually mention Suppiluliuma's sons by specific queens *after* each respective queen, and if Arnuwandas the crown-prince was the eldest surviving son of Suppiluliuma, this would support Daduhepa's being placed as first queen.

3. Dossier IIA, 1–3, in *PRU* IV, 30, 32–52. For the seals of Suppiluliuma and Tawananna, see *Ug. III*, 98–103 and figs. 2–4 on pp. 3–4, also Pl. I opposite p. 96.

4. Really a misnomer, because Mitanni, not Syria, was Suppiluliuma's real opponent, and because Suppiluliuma had been warring in Syria before this (see Table, section VII below).

5. For the dating of the Niqmad II–Suppiluliuma alliance to the 'First' Syrian War, see *PRU* IV, 32–34.

II

The Text KUB XIX, 9

THIS text has aroused much discussion over the interpretation of two periods, one of 20 years and the other of 6 years, which are mentioned in it. To facilitate our discussion I give here an English rendering of *KUB XIX, 9, 1, 6'-23'*.¹ This document dates from the reign of Hattusil III, perhaps 60 to 80 years after the events recorded.

'These (i.e. all the lost Anatolian territories), my grandfather Suppiluliuma brought back until he had reduced them to order. And he took 20 years until he had reconquered them. But when my grandfather Suppiluliuma entered the Hurri-land, then he vanquished all the Hurri-lands, and he fixed the boundary on yon side, (at) the land of Qadesh (and) the land of Amurru,² and vanquished the king of Egypt. But on this side, he destroyed the land of Irrite (and) the land of Suta and made the Mala river (= Euphrates)³ his boundary. And these (lands) he thus took into vassalage on the spot. And what was beside the Mala river, he vanquished by force. And his sons he made kings:— in the land of Aleppo he made Telipinus king, in the land of Carchemish he made Piyassilis king. My grandfather Suppiluliuma tarried⁴ in the land of Amurru⁵ because the lands were strong (i.e. refractory), and he took 6 years until he had reduced them to order. But behind (his back), the land of Išhupitta became hostile, and it stirred up all the lands, and all the lands became hostile.'

As noted long ago by Goetze⁶ and more recently by Güterbock,⁷ the plain meaning of this text is that Suppiluliuma, having first spent 20 years

1. On this text, see Forrer, *Forschungen*, 2:1, p. 10; Götze, *KlasF*, 115-119.

2. I.e., including Qadesh and as far as Amurru; the reference to vanquishing the king of Egypt is probably an inexact allusion to Suppiluliuma's conquest of Šuttarna, king of Qadesh, the vassal and thus a representative of the king of Egypt. Cf. *PD*, No. 1, obv. 40-43, pp. 14/15.

3. This identification is given by the new bilingual text of Hattusil I, see Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958), 83 and n. 28.

4. But cf. Götze, *KlasF*, 118, who reads *nukan* <*kuitman*> . . . , 'And <while> my grandfather', etc.

5. Perhaps 'Hurri' (=Mitanni) is a better reading here, see Götze, *op. cit.*, 117-118.

6. *Loc. cit.*; also Sturm, *Klio* 26 (1933), 25.

7. In *PRU* IV, 300.

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

restoring the Hittite ascendancy in Asia Minor,¹ subsequently vanquished the Hurri-lands and set his Syrian boundary at Qadesh and Amurru in the 'First' Syrian War. Then the account passes on into the 'Second' Syrian War; Irrite was explicitly conquered in this war,² and Suta in the 'First' Syrian War (and therefore surely in the 'Second' also). At this time, too, Piyassilis/Šarrikušuḥ was made king of Carchemish,³ and Telipinus apparently king of Aleppo. This war, the 'Second', lasted 6 years. The reason for such a long-drawn-out struggle is not far to seek: both Hatti and Assyria sought to take over Mitanni as a subject-ally and buffer-state against each other. Suppiluliuma's son Piyassilis fought hard to establish his father's *protégé* Mattiwaza on the Mitannian throne, while Assuruballit I of Assyria supported the efforts of Šuttarna III and his father, Artatama II, to gain control of Mitanni.⁴ During this time, revolts broke out in Asia Minor (Iṣḥupitta,⁵ etc.) and in Syria (Nuḥašše, Qadesh), complicating Hittite efforts in Mitanni.

On this basis – 20 years' Hittite fighting in Asia Minor, then the 'First' Syrian War followed at an interval by the 'Second' Syrian War – the commonly-expressed⁶ interpretation of *KUB* XIX, 9 that the 20 years in Asia Minor came *between* Suppiluliuma's 'First' and 'Second' Syrian

1. *KBo* VI, 28 indicates Asia Minor as the field of operations then, as a result of the disastrous incursions under Tudkhalia III. See Excursus I below for this text. Firstly, Tudkhalia III and Suppiluliuma together battled against these foes, then Suppiluliuma continued to do so by himself after his accession.

2. So in *PD*, No. 2, obv. 36–50, pp. 44–47, and in *Deeds* of Suppiluliuma, Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956), 114, fragments 41, 42.

3. *Deeds*, 'Tablet VII', Güterbock, *op. cit.*, 95–96, 120–121, and references.

4. *PD*, No. 2, obv. 1–51, pp. 37–47, *passim*; *Deeds*, fragment 35, line 34; Güterbock, *op. cit.*, 111. The name Mattiwaza is probably to be read as Kurtiwaza, *ibid.*, 121, n. 18. The traditional 'Mattiwaza' is retained merely out of convenience.

5. Cf. *Deeds*, fragment 43, Güterbock, *op. cit.*, 115.

6. Forrer, *Forschungen*, 2:1, pp. 1–37; E. Cavaignac, *Subbiluliuma et son temps*, 1932, p. 33; *Les Annales de Subbiluliuma*, 1931, p. 232. With serious doubts, Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, 33, 300. And most recently, D. B. Redford *JEA*, 45 (1959), 37, who is apparently unaware of the importance of the Tawananna seals on the Ugaritic documents and makes no reference to the view of Goetze, Sturm and Güterbock (p. 3, nn. 6, 7 above). That Suppiluliuma should go campaigning in Syria *before* spending 20 years restoring the much-reduced and gravely-threatened Hittite realm at home in Asia Minor (cf. Redford, *loc. cit.*) is most unlikely. The reverse is much more realistic: Suppiluliuma dealt with the grave troubles only too near home in Asia Minor, with only a brief foray or so into Syria near the end of this period, before attending to more distant Syrian affairs more thoroughly.

Wars is quite unwarranted. The facts adduced above (section I), which link Suppiluliuma's last queen (Tawananna) with the 'First' Syrian War, virtually compel the inference that this common interpretation is not only unwarranted but definitely excluded. Though admittedly possible in theory, it is inherently very unlikely that Suppiluliuma lost two successive chief queens (Daduhepa and Henti) in the very first years of his reign, and that his third (Tawananna) then reigned with him for $20 + 6$ years and another 10 years¹ under Mursil II, i.e. an utter minimum of 36 years. The onus of proof rests with any who continue to espouse the old interpretation of *KUB* XIX, 9. It is much more natural to envisage the first two queens reigning in succession during, say, the first 15 or 20 years of Suppiluliuma's reign, and Tawananna reigning from shortly before the 'First' Syrian War some 13 years (see p. 33 below) $+ 6 + 10$ years, i.e. about 29 years as great queen, distinctly less than on the other interpretation.

III

The Amarna Pharaohs

THE kings especially in view here are Amenophis III, Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, Smenkhkarē and Tutankhamūn. Ay and Haremhab are less directly linked with their Western Asiatic contemporaries. Although no

1. According to *KUB* XIV, 4, the dowager queen Tawananna waged a feud against the wife of Mursil II; she cursed him, his wife and his son, and finally Mursil's wife died. At this time Mursil was celebrating a festival of Hepat of Kummanni and went to Kizzuwatna. He then began to march against Azzi/Hayasa, when an ominous portent (Forrer's alleged 'eclipse') occurred, relating to the queen. Subsequently, Mursil had to demote Tawananna. These events can be dated to Mursil II's 9th and 10th years by comparison with the corresponding entry in his 'Elaborate Annals' which similarly mentions his concern for the Hepat-festival, his going to Kizzuwatna, and his initiation of a campaign against Azzi/Hayasa (not fulfilled till year 10), Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, Leipzig, 1933 (*MVAG* 38), 104 ff.; Forrer, *Forschungen*, 2:1, pp. 1-3, etc.; Laroche, *Ug. III*, 101-103.

On the question of Forrer's alleged eclipse, see Götze, *KlasF*, 401-413; *šakkiyahh*- simply relates to the occurrence of portents or omens (so also Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 1952, 176b). This could, of course, include eclipses - but an eclipse should not be assumed in the absence of a specific reference.

full-scale and final study of the vexed problem of Amarna co-regencies can be attempted here, this topic cannot just be sidestepped.

The highest attested year-date of Amenophis III is his 38th on dockets from Malqata;¹ that he reigned longer remains doubtful. For Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, the highest attested date is his 17th year.² That year 17 was also his last is strongly suggested by Amarna docket No. 279 upon which a 'year 1' is written over a 'year 17' in palimpsest.³

The suggestion has been made that Amenophis IV became co-regent with his father in the latter's year 30;⁴ this would then give a minimum co-

1. W. C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 87-88. The '39th year' of Aldred, *JEA* 45 (1959), 32, is not in fact attested so far, but is evidently assumed, following Hayes, *loc. cit.*

2. The 'year 21' and 'year 18' alleged by K. C. Seele, *JNES* 14 (1955), 175, are wholly imaginary: see now H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 46 (1960), 108-109.

3. On No. 279, cf. *COA* III, 158-159.

4. This date, on the basis of the Medum graffito, published in Petrie and Griffith, *Medum*, 1892, p. 41, Pl. 36, No. 18; see Fairman in *COA* III, 156-157. However, as Helck (*MIO* 2 (1954), 200) points out, the full context of this graffito does not prove a co-regency. Amenophis III is described in general terms as 'lord of might, prince of joy who loves him who hates injustice of heart, placing the male offspring upon the seat of his father and establishing his inheritance in the land'. This may merely reflect the Egyptian ideal of a son succeeding to his father's post (studied by Kees, *Das Priestertum im Ägyptischen Staat*, 1953, 60 ff.), the writer of the graffito having perhaps actually done so. That the 'father' and 'son' of this graffito are the kings Amenophis III and IV depends on the value attributed to the divine determinative (G7 in Gardiner's Sign-List) of the word *it*, 'father'. Helck (*loc. cit.*) has tried to show that the divine determinative does not imply a king, here. He adduces an example of the divine determinative applied to the father of a commoner in Hatnub graffito No. 16, line 2 (Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 1928, 36-37), remarking that here 'there is no question of a royal father', and hence the Medum graffito has no relevance for the co-regency.

But Helck's example is in fact illusory. The 'commoners' concerned are the independent princely nomarchs of the Hare nome in the 1st Intermediate Period (22nd century B.C.) - who in fact arrogated to themselves a series of royal usages proper only to the divine pharaoh. These include: the tags 'Life, Prosperity, Health!', 'living for ever (\pm and ever)', and '(magical) protection and life are behind him like Rē forever'; the use of regnal years of their own; and even oaths sworn by their names (instead of the king or a god). Even divine sonship is claimed by these 'commoners'. The nomarch Djehutinakht calls himself one 'whose place Thoth has advanced, his own son in very truth (*n wn m3<t*), born of the two enneads of Rē' (Anthes, *op. cit.*, 52-53, No. 23, line 2), and likewise two other nomarchs called explicitly also, 'son of Thoth' and 'seed of the bull of truth (= Thoth)', Anthes, *op. cit.*, 43-44, 45, No. 20, lines 6-7; and pp. 54-55, No. 24, line 4. Thus it is clear that these nomarchs took over bodily a whole series of divine pharaonic

regency of 8 years and a fraction¹ during Akhenaten's 1st to 9th years, Amenophis III's 30th to 38th years. The best summary of this view and of the evidence adduced for it is still probably that given by H. W. Fairman in *COA* III, pp. 152-160.² However, Aldred has recently argued for an attributes (cf. Anthes, *op. cit.*, 85-87), and hence the use of the divine determinative to 'father' in No. 16, line 2 is wholly in keeping with such usurpation of exclusively royal trappings. These are no simple commoners, but pseudo-kings, and the graffito 16 proves the opposite of what Helck suggested. Though perhaps ambiguous, the Medum graffito cannot be (as Helck claims, *loc. cit.*) 'completely excluded from discussion of a co-regency of Amenophis III and IV'. Though not decisive, the divine determinative remains the property of kings, gods and divinised persons, and thus favours the co-regency interpretation of the Medum graffito.

1. The suggested equation of Akhenaten's accession with Amenophis III's 28th year (Aldred, *JEA* 45 (1959), 32) and the assumption of an 11-year co-regency rest largely on the contention that two 'year 12' dates of Akhenaten closely follow, and are linked with, his accession to sole rule.

EA 27, from Tušratta to Akhenaten, apparently just after the latter's sole accession, bears a hieratic docket read as 'year 12'. However, this docket actually reads not '12' but '2' (Gardiner, *JEA* 43 (1957), 14, n. 1, after Schroeder), and does not therefore support an 11-year co-regency. However, contrary to Gardiner, this 'year 2' does not disprove a co-regency either, because - as Professor Fairman has pointed out to me - 'year 2' is not the original date of Tušratta's letter. This docket explicitly calls the tablet *mitt n t3 š't nh[r]yn*, 'Copy of the Naharin-letter' - i.e. a copy of an original (date unknown), made in year 2, but of Smenkhkarē or Tutankhamūn. Cf. already (in a different connection), Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 1944, 75 and n. 209. The 'year 2' in question, I would suggest, was almost certainly that of Smenkhkarē, because the docket was written 'when One (i.e. the king) was in the Southern City' (i.e. Thebes): this would agree perfectly with the supposition that Smenkhkarē had gone to Thebes while Akhenaten remained at Amarna.

The other 'year 12' is that of the tribute-scenes in two tombs at Amarna: Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* II, Pl. 38, and III, Pls. 13-14. Aldred's plausible explanation of these scenes as coronation-tribute after sole accession in year 11 (*JEA* 43 (1957), 115-116) is not without difficulties. The coronation of a pharaoh surely took place consequent upon his accession whether as king or co-regent, when he received all other official attributes of kingship. And the verb *h'3i*, 'to appear', used in these scenes, is not restricted to coronation-appearances. The recognition of the accession to sole rule by a pharaoh, and not to his co-regency, by foreign rulers reflects their viewpoint not the Egyptian one. Hence there is still no proof for an 11-year rather than, say, an 8-year co-regency.

2. More recent studies include: H. W. Helck, *MIO* 2 (1954), 196-202; Sir Alan Gardiner, *JEA* 43 (1957), 10-25; C. Aldred, *ibid.*, 30-41 and 114-117; P. van der Meer, *JEOL* 15 (1957/8), 74-96, esp. 75-83; D. B. Redford, *JEA* 45 (1959), 34-37; Aldred, *ibid.*, 19-33, 104, and *JNES* 18 (1959), 113-120; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 46 (1960), 80-82, 108-109.

The association of the two kings on various monuments is sometimes dismissed

eleven-year co-regency, beginning in Amenophis III's 28th year and ending in the 11th year of Akhenaten.¹ Further strong, if fragmentary, evidence for a co-regency of the two kings has now come to light: a battered limestone block at Athribis from a major temple-wall bears the cartouches of Amenophis IV and III *in this order* and facing the *same way*.² The provisional assumption of an eight-year co-regency in this study does not exclude the possibility of either an eleven-year co-regency or no co-regency at all. The Western Asiatic sources are at present still too incomplete and ambiguous either to support or contradict any one of these three possible solutions,³ though the Amarna tablets form a more homogeneous group in time, if a co-regency be accepted.

Smenkhkarē's highest known year is his 3rd, in the graffito in the tomb of Pere at Thebes which mentions a shrine of Amūn in a temple of Smenkhkarē.⁴ A series of monuments makes it hard to avoid postulating a co-regency of Smenkhkarē with Akhenaten.⁵ Meritaten, Akhenaten's eldest daughter and heiress, was in any case important even before the accession of Smenkhkarē and herself, since she replaced Nefertiti in the reliefs in Maru-Aten (El-Hawāṭeh) at Amarna under Akhenaten, while

as being 'memorials' of Amenophis III. While possibly accounting for some instances, this explanation definitely does not suit others, e.g. Meketaten's coffin (Fairman in *COA* III, 156). Assumption of a co-regency does not necessarily imply that Amenophis III lived always at Amarna then; besides staying there as circumstances required it, he probably continued to circulate between Memphis and Thebes, etc., like other New Kingdom pharaohs. Amenophis II was 'born at Memphis' (scarab, Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 1917, Pl. 30, No. 1); for kings from Tuthmosis III onward living away from Thebes, cf. Kees, *Priestertum*, 97, and Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, 1958, 5-9. Thus the celebration of Amenophis III's three *sed*-festivals at Thebes (Malqata) does not confine him to Thebes or militate against a co-regency.

1. See p. 7, nn. 1-2 above, esp. *JNES* 18 (1959), 118-120. While Aldred's facts tend to favour the co-regency (p. 118 in particular), his view that the vizier Ramose died by year 31 of Amenophis III (in favour of an 11-year co-regency) is based purely on negative evidence which cannot be regarded as conclusive.

2. For this important document and its immediate implications, see Fairman, *JEA* 46 (1960), 80-82.

3. The regnal years of some Kassite kings of Babylon are either lacking or suspect, and the Assyrian king-lists give varying lengths for certain reigns, thus involving one in choices that are necessarily distinctly subjective at times.

4. Newberry and Gardiner, *JEA* 14 (1928), 3-9, 10-11, respectively.

5. Newberry, *loc. cit.*, gives the full evidence.

still only entitled 'King's Daughter'.¹ Furthermore, it is somewhat illogical to postulate that after a sole reign of Smenkhkarē, in which the court presumably returned to Thebes (and Memphis) and some measure of Amūn-worship was restored, Tutankhaten, a mere boy, was able to reverse the trend and reign at Amarna as a follower of Aten for a further 2 to 4 years before finally returning to the old capital(s) and changing his name to Tutankhamūn.² Therefore, it is suggested that the whole of Smenkhkarē's reign was a co-regency with Akhenaten, from whom the throne passed directly to Tutankhaten. The 'year 1' written over 'year 17' on Amarna docket No. 279 will then be year 1 of Tutankhaten over year 17 of Akhenaten.³ See further in section IV, page 20 below, under Abimilki of Tyre.

Tutankhamūn's highest known date is his 9th year, on a wine-jar docket found in his tomb,⁴ and hence is pretty certainly his last. If the year-dates 1 to 4 at Amarna are mainly his,⁵ he would have spent 3-and-a-bit years there before leaving. Hence no Amarna letter will be later than his 4th year at the very latest.

Ay's highest attested date is his 4th year.⁶ Haremhab's highest recorded 'date' is the Ramesside era-date of year 59 or 58.⁷ This figure certainly covers the reigns of Akhenaten, Tutankhamūn,⁸ and Ay, minimally 16,

1. The evidence was presented by Gunn in *COA* 1, 1923, 150-156. See also Davies in Frankfort (ed.), *The Mural Painting of El Amarna*, 1929, p. 58; Newberry, *op. cit.*, 7-8; cf. *JEA* 10 (1924), Pl. 23:3. See, too, sections IV and V below, pp. 19-20, 30.

2. See for this *COA* III, 158, and on years 1 to 4 at Amarna, *ibid.*, 158-160.

3. *COA* III, 158, 159.

4. R. Engelbach, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 163.

5. See note 2 above.

6. Helck, *Urkunden IV* (18. Dynastie), 2110; Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften, Staatl. Museen, Berlin* II 122. Bilabel and Grohmann, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens, 16-11 Jahrh.*, 97 and n. 1, read 'year 5, 3rd month' in error for 'year 4, 4th month'.

7. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*, 1905 (*Untersuchungen*, ed. Sethe, IV:3), pp. 11, 22, n. 72, and text 'S'8, p. 52 bottom. Borchardt suggests reading the figure as '58', *Die Mittel zur Zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der Ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, 1935, p. 85, n. 5. This 'year 59' (or, 58) is not 'fantastic' (Redford, *JEA* 45 (1959), 36), but merely represents Ramesside non-recognition of the Amarna kings, known not only from official records like the Abydos king-list which omits them, but also from an ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings, see *Chronique d'Égypte* 26, No. 51 (1951), 46-49.

8. As Smenkhkarē's reign was wholly contained within Akhenaten's as co-regent (see above, pp. 8-9), it does not count separately in this reckoning.

8 and 3 years respectively, leaving Haremhab with some 30 or 31 years' real sole reign.¹

As Akhenaten apparently occupied his new capital at Amarna from his 5th year,² the total period of time for the receipt of diplomatic correspondence there would be the last 12 years of Akhenaten's reign and the first 2 or 3 of Tutankhamūn's, some 15 years altogether; any letters for Amenophis III actually sent to Amarna would likewise date to the first 5 years of occupation at Amarna. Some letters of Amenophis III may rather have been brought to Amarna, and hence may be very slightly earlier – say, not before the co-regency, for otherwise they might have been too old to warrant transfer to Amarna. This would probably add another 5 years or so to the time-range of the Amarna correspondence, say about 20 years.³ As no letters of Amenophis III's earliest-known Babylonian correspondents, Karaindash and Kurigalzu I, have come from Amarna, their correspondence probably preceded the period of the extant Amarna letters. Kadashman-Enlil I probably succeeded these kings before Amarna was occupied; and his letters to Amenophis III from there presumably date to the latter's last 8 years, and especially the last 4, but ending with Kadashman-Enlil's death shortly before that of Amenophis III. This date, placing the accession of Burnaburiash III,⁴ the next Babylonian king, in about the last year of Amenophis III, is fixed by Burnaburiash III's only known letter to Amenophis III (*EA* 6).⁵ Burna-

1. The 'year 27' from Medinet Habu is either a year 27 of Haremhab's own reign (Anthes in Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* II, 107–108, fig. 90 and Pl. 51, c), or else a Ramesside date (i.e. of Ramesses II's reign, *COA* III, 158). It therefore has no bearing on either the accession (Hölscher, *Oriental Institute Communication*, No. 15, pp. 51, 53) or the death (von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben*, 1951, 104; Redford, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, n. 7 above) of Haremhab in relation to other Amarna kings.

2. Cf. *COA* III, 160. Year 5 is also apparently the latest date known at which Akhenaten is still called Amenophis (IV), in the 'Kahun' papyri, Griffith, *Papyri of Kahun and Gurob*, 1898, I, 91–92, and II, Pl. 38. See also the four letters published by Gardiner, *ZAS* 43 (1906), 27–47.

3. If no co-regency of Amenophis III and IV be admitted, then of course one must assume that all the Amenophis III letters (none less than 5 years old) were brought to Amarna in year 5 of Akhenaten.

4. The numbering of this Burnaburiash as Burnaburiash III follows Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), 201, for convenience; see further *ibid.*, 208–209, 212–213, 229–230, 238–241 and references.

5. Having just acceded to the throne, Burnaburiash III seeks in *EA* 6 to establish relations with the same pharaoh who had been his father's ally. Burna-

THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

huriash III then continued to correspond with Akhenaten and Tutankhamūn, and his letters can be put in order as follows. *EA* 6 is first, to Amenophis III, see p. 10, n. 5. *EA* 8 follows the beginning of the sole rule of Akhenaten, perhaps by only a short interval (cf. lines 8–12). *EA* 7 could come anywhere thereafter. *EA* 10 and 11 mention 'Mayati', very plausibly identified by Albright and von Soden with Meri(t)ate(n).¹ As the reign of Smenkhkarē and Meritaten as *his* queen is contemporary at the latest with Akhenaten's 15th, 16th and 17th years, Meritaten's replacing Nefertiti as Akhenaten's consort (see p. 8f above) while still merely entitled 'King's Daughter' (and not queen) must date to year 13 or 14 at latest.² Therefore *EA* 10 and 11 would date to the 13th to 17th years of Akhenaten. More specifically, the mention by name in *EA* 10 of 'thy daughter Mayati' would correspond well with the role of Meritaten as replacing Nefertiti in about year 13 of Akhenaten until year 15 when she became Smenkhkarē's consort and Akhenaten married his third daughter Ankhsenpaaten instead.³ In *EA* 11, Burnaburiash III sends 20 lapis rings to 'the mistress of

huriash's father has often been taken to be Kurigalzu I, because Burnaburiash calls this king his 'father' in *EA* 9, line 19 (written to Tutankhamūn). But *abi-ia*, 'my father', need mean only 'my (earlier) predecessor' here, or be elliptical for (*abi*) *abi-ia*, 'my (grand)father', because in a short text from Nippur, Burnaburiash III is explicitly called 'eldest son' (DUMU.SAG) of Kadashman-Enlil I who reigned between Kurigalzu I and Burnaburiash III (Jaritz, *op. cit.*, 212, n. 89, 241, No. 81). Hence Burnaburiash III's 'father' in *EA* 6, line 8, is more likely to be Kadashman-Enlil I than Kurigalzu I. The ephemeral Kadashman-Harbe I does not come into this at all (Jaritz, *op. cit.*, 210 and n. 86). As all of Kadashman-Enlil I's Egyptian correspondence is with Amenophis III and none with Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, the most natural assumption is that Burnaburiash acceded to the throne and sent *EA* 6 to announce the fact to Amenophis III just before the latter's death. The only other solution is to assume the very opposite: that Kadashman-Enlil I outlived Amenophis III long enough to establish friendly relations with Akhenaten, and that in *EA* 6 the new king Burnaburiash sought to continue the friendship with this pharaoh. However, in the absence of any letters between Akhenaten and Kadashman-Enlil I to substantiate this theoretical possibility, the first solution (i.e. Amenophis III and Burnaburiash III briefly contemporary) seems to be by far the soundest.

1. Albright, *JEA* 23 (1937), 191–194, 203 and n. 1; von Soden, *Orientalia* 21 (1952), 432 (*EA* 10, 11); Fecht, *ZAS* 85 (1960), 84–88.

2. But not before year 12 when Akhenaten and Nefertiti are shown carried in state to the reception of tribute, Davies, *Amarna* III, 9 and Pl. 13.

3. Cf. p. 9, n. 1 above, and also *EA* 155 from Abimilki of Tyre, 'city of Mayati', p. 20 and n. 1 below. *EA* 10 can thus be put in about years 13 to 15 of Akhenaten.

thy house, whereas Mayati did nothing for me'. Here, Burnaburiash's dealings with Meritaten are in the recent past, and he sends the gift to the 'mistress' of Akhenaten's house who is quite evidently not identical with Meritaten, and still less with the retired Nefertiti, but who must be Ankhsenpaaten.¹ *EA* 11 may therefore be dated to years 15-17 of Akhenaten. *EA* 9 is the latest known, sent to Nibhūruriya, i.e. Tutankhamūn.² In his 'First' Syrian War (about year 12 of Akhenaten?, see pp. 16 and n. 5, 22-23, and 30-31 below), Suppiluliuma discredited Tušratta of Mitanni; one result of this was pretty certainly a successful bid for independence from Mitanni by Assur-uballit I of Assyria (perhaps year 13 of Akhenaten). Hence Assur-uballit's two letters to Akhenaten (*EA* 15 and 16) will also date to Akhenaten's last years (14 to 16).³ This fits in very well with Burnaburiash III's evidently subsequent request to Tutankhamūn (*EA* 9) that the Assyrians should receive no recognition at the Egyptian court, he traditionally⁴ claiming their allegiance.

IV

Certain Syrian Amarna Letters

No attempt can be made here, of course, to put in order of relative date the whole corpus of some 350 Amarna letters. Nevertheless, some are important for the present purpose, in particular those of Aitakama of Qadesh, Akizzi of Qatna, Aziru of Amurru and Abimilki of Tyre. There are also some letters of Ribaddi of Byblos, and Abdi-aširta of Amurru, less readily correlatable with outside sources and so less useful here. The lower limit for all this correspondence is at the latest year 4 of Tutankhamūn's reign, see preceding section.

1. As already seen by van der Meer, *JEOL* 15 (1957/8), 75-76. Akhenaten even had a daughter, Ankhsenpaaten the Younger, by Ankhsenpaaten, cf. Brunner, *ZAS* 74 (1938), 104-108.

2. E. Edel, *JNES* 7 (1948), 14-15 and references.

3. Assur-uballit apparently still employed some Mitannian scribes, inherited from Tušratta's administration, for some of his letters; cf. remarks by von Soden, *op. cit.*, 434.

4. As occupiers of the distant Hammurabi's throne, this and other Kassite kings probably considered themselves as heirs to his former rule of all the Mesopotamian valley, including overlordship of Assyria.

CERTAIN SYRIAN AMARNA LETTERS

The career of Aitakama of Qadesh can be sketched in basic outline from the Hittite sources, eked out by Amarna. In his 'First' Syrian War, Suppiluliuma had not intended to touch Qadesh, officially part of the Egyptian sphere of influence, but Šuttarna (var., Šutatarra) king of Qadesh and his son Aitakama came out and offered battle. Suppiluliuma defeated, captured and deported them to the Hittite land.¹

From of old, Qadesh had been the ally of Mitanni in opposition to Egypt; this is especially clear in the annals of Tuthmosis III. When, however, Egypt and Mitanni became allies under Tuthmosis IV and so continued under Amenophis III and IV, Qadesh became a key bastion in central Syria of both Egyptian official suzerainty and Mitannian influence.² On the eve of Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War, when Tušratta endeavoured to restore his influence in N. Syria and attacked Šarrupši of Nuḥašše, who had recently become a Hittite vassal, the Mitannian king apparently marched as far as Šumur on the Phoenician coast and would have reached Byblos but for lack of water (*EA* 85, lines 51-55, from Ribaddi).³ The simplest explanation for this⁴ is that Tušratta was doing what his Egyptian 'brother'-king had failed to do, i.e. to make a show of armed might in Syria, to rally support for the Egypto-Mitannian cause⁵ in view of Hittite hostility. Hence, the opposition that Šuttarna of Qadesh offered to Suppiluliuma is readily understandable.

Nevertheless, shortly after his capture and deportation of Šuttarna and Aitakama, Suppiluliuma apparently installed Aitakama as king of Qadesh and Hittite vassal. The date of *EA* 189 is uncertain. Aitakama simply

1. *PD*, No. 1, obv. lines 40-43, pp. 14/15. On the history of Qadesh see also M. Noth, *Welt des Orients* 1 (1948), 223-233.

2. Compare the name Šuttarna with those of other Mitannian princes of Indo-Aryan type. For Egypt and Syria in 15th century B.C., see Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, Coll. 'Clio', 3rd ed., 1952, 398 ff., 443 ff. On Egypt's administration of her Syrian empire, see now M. Abdul-Ḳader Mohammad, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 105-137, and W. Helck, *MDOG* 92 (1960), 1-13.

3. The damaged allusion to the king of Mitanni's interest in Amurru (*EA* 95, line 27) may belong here. *EA* 86, lines 10-12 is too obscure to help much (requisitioning?).

4. Better than Sturm's large and otherwise unsupported assumption of a major break in Egypto-Mitannian relations, *Klio* 26 (1933), 5-6, 14. See also section v and p. 28, n. 2 below.

5. Also to crush disaffection; or, even to contact Egyptian commissioners in Syria (but this is only speculative). Meantime in the north, Tušratta's troops were beleaguering Šarrupši of Nuḥašše.

calls himself 'servant' of the Egyptian king, leaving it quite uncertain whether he, not yet king, is writing to protest loyalty at some time before Suppiluliuma captured him, or whether, on the other hand – as king of Qadesh and now really Suppiluliuma's vassal – he hopes quietly to give Egypt the impression that he is still Pharaoh's servant and thus avoid trouble from that quarter. However, *EA* 149, line 30 and 151, lines 59–60, from Abimilki of Tyre to the pharaoh, explicitly name Aitakama as king of Qadesh,¹ evidently after his return thither as Hittite vassal.

Like so many other Amarna-age Syrian princes, Aitakama's activities reflect a fourfold aim: (i) preservation of his own local autonomy; (ii) extension of his own personal rule and power by self-aggrandizement; (iii) maintenance toward the Egyptians of a show of loyalty to secure men and money from them; and (iv) either opposition or submission to the Hittite power according to circumstances.² The reciprocal denunciations of each other as disloyal to the pharaoh are simply the outcome of the local rivalries and feuds, and must be accorded only a relative value on the international plane. Just as the Egyptian vassals sought to obtain this military aid, ostensibly for defence of the pharaoh's Syrian possessions but in fact for their own ends and rivalries,³ so Aitakama as Hittite vassal in Qadesh ostensibly co-operated with Hittite detachments in their policing of N. Syria but was in fact apparently using his opportunities to suppress rivals and extend his own local rule. Thus, the princes of Hašabu (*EA* 174), of Hazi (*EA* 175), another(?) place (*EA* 176) and of Ešazi (*EA* 176a, in Mercer only) complain to the pharaoh, 'we are in the land of Amki, in the cities of the king . . . Aitakama of Qadesh has gone to (meet) the troops of Hatti and he has set the cities of the king . . . on fire'.⁴

1. The term used of him, *pawura*, is Egyptian *p3 wr*, 'the ruler'; cf. Albright, *JNES* 5 (1946), 19.

2. One cannot, for example, simply label Ribaddi as 'good' and Aziru as 'bad' with Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 352, 382 ff. Cf. already, E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II:1, 1928, 358–359; C. H. Gordon, *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 7–8.

3. Cf. Ribaddi's complaint, *EA* 122, lines 31–37 (and *EA* 123:13–18), that Paḥuru (an Egyptian official) has used Sutu, auxiliary troops, against people connected with Byblos; for Sutu as auxiliaries, cf. *EA* 195, lines 24–32.

4. Aitakama of Qadesh is here spoken of as going to meet with, *not* march against, the Hittite troops. The construction used is *ana pani*. Mercer's rendering of these letters makes nonsense of their allusions to Aitakama and is even contradictory: he renders *ana pani* as 'against' the Hatti-troops in *EA* 174, lines 11–14; 175, lines 9–11; 176, lines 9–11; but as 'at the head of'(!) the Hatti-troops in 176a, lines 9–11.

CERTAIN SYRIAN AMARNA LETTERS

Aitakama continued as a loyal Hittite vassal for almost all of his subsequent career, especially during Suppiluliuma's 'Second' Syrian War. This war and Suppiluliuma's personal intervention in Syria were directly occasioned by two events: the Hurrian (Mitannian) attack on the Hittite force watching Carchemish, and an Egyptian attack upon Qadesh, obviously still a Hittite bastion.¹ Suppiluliuma sent further troops to relieve both of the threatened points. Aitakama thereafter continued faithful to Hatti until he, in company with several other N. Syrian princes, rebelled about 15 years later against Mursil II in his 9th year;² the revolt failed disastrously, and Aitakama was murdered by his own son whom Mursil II eventually appointed vassal in his stead. From just after Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War to Mursil II's 9th year gives Aitakama, already an adult and warrior

That these opponents of Aitakama, when writing to Egypt to impeach him, should describe him as going forth *against* the Hittite invader is incredible because it would have produced in Egypt an impression of Aitakama as pro-Egyptian, fighting the Hittites, the very opposite of that which the writers intended.

Alaku . . . ana pani should be rendered in these contexts 'go . . . to meet', i.e. in greeting or alliance. Proof of this from this same period is sufficiently provided in *PD*, No. 1, obv. lines 30-31, pp. 10/11, where Suppiluliuma says that 'Takuwa, king of Niy' *šulumme . . . ana pani-[ia ittal]ka*, 'in (token of) peace came . . . to me[et me]', using the same terms *alaku . . . ana pani*. Cf. also *EA* 153, line 10. For 'against', on the other hand, there is *ina pani* as in *EA* 71, line 26 (against Abdi-aširta).

Thus, these letters clearly impugn Aitakama as (i) acting in open alliance with the Hittite enemy, and (ii) ravaging the land of Amki, doubtless to crush opponents and extend his own local power. This was certainly calculated to condemn Aitakama in Egyptian eyes - and succeeded, see *EA* 162, lines 22-25. These letters date from *after* Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War and appointment of Aitakama as his vassal in Qadesh.

Hence, Redford's interpretation of these letters as reflecting Aitakama's anti-Hittite stand during the 'First' Syrian War (*JEA* 45 (1959), 37) is founded on a misconception and must be discarded; likewise that of Sturm, *Klio* 26 (1933), 25, who envisaged Aitakama here as turning against Suppiluliuma as already his overlord - Sturm is naturally at a complete loss to explain such a move.

1. See *Deeds*, 'Tablet VII', Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956), 93.

2. Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, 1933, 104/5 ff. In Mursil II's 7th year, Nuḫašše had already given trouble such that the king of Carchemish sought to mobilise Ugarit against them (*PRU* IV, Dossier IIB, 53-55), but Qadesh remained quiet on this earlier occasion. Aitakama may, however, have temporarily lapsed during a brief space in Suppiluliuma's 'Second' Syrian War, see p. 18, n. 5, end below.

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAHOHS

under his father, a reign in Qadesh of about $5^1 + 8^2 + 6^3 + 9$ years, i.e. some 28 years altogether.⁴

The letters from Akizzi of Qatna to Akhenaten⁵ fit well into the general picture. His letter 52 is too little preserved to be informative. But his letter 55 can pretty certainly be dated to the time of Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War. Narrating events of this campaign in his treaty with Mattiwaza,⁶ Suppiluliuma mentions plundering Qatna while subduing Nuḥašše; like Šuttarna of Qadesh, Akizzi of Qatna was obviously supporting Mitanni and Egypt and was necessarily anti-Hittite. In letter 55, Akizzi complains to Pharaoh that the king of Hatti, in Syria in person, has carried fire into the land of Qatna (*EA* 55, lines 40-41); evidently the same event seen through the victim's eyes. In *EA* 53 and 54, Akizzi further complains that Aitakama of Qadesh is putting pressure on him to go over to the Hittites, and fears that Aitakama and the Hittite king between them will take his life. These evidently date from some point after the 'First' Syrian War by their mention of Aitakama as obviously a Hittite vassal; compare also *EA* 174-176a (see above).⁷

1. From the 'First' Syrian War to the death of Akhenaten, about the latter's years 12 to 17; for year 12, see section V below, esp. pp. 30-31.

2. The reign of Tutankhamūn.

3. I.e. 5 remaining years of the 'Second' Syrian War after Tutankhamūn's death, plus a year for Arnuwandas II's brief reign.

4. If some 20 years had been assumed between the two Syrian wars of Suppiluliuma, Aitakama's rule would have lasted 20 plus 6 plus 9, i.e. 35 years; this is possible, but would make him an old man (probably in his seventies) when he rebelled last and was murdered – with so little to gain for it.

5. To *Namḫuria* (for *Naphuria*), not *Nammuria* as earlier read; see Sturm, *Klio* 26 (1933), 8-10.

6. *PD*, No. 1, obv. line 37, pp. 12/13.

7. The activity of the Hittite king in N. Syria in *EA* 53 and 54 cannot well be his 'First' Syrian War as Aitakama is already ruler of Qadesh, nor can it be his 'Second' which dates to the end of Tutankhamūn's reign long after Akhenaten's death and the abandonment of Amarna and its archive. Rather, the tantalising allusions of these two letters seem to reflect the activity of Hittite troops (and even briefly of Suppiluliuma himself: a third 'foray'?) in N. Syria between these two 'wars', within Akhenaten's last few years of reign. There are hints (*EA* 53, lines 40-44, and 54, lines 38-43) of Egyptian-encouraged Mitannian opposition to Hatti, associated with restlessness in N. Syria – where Suppiluliuma may have had to face difficulties of which record has not so far been preserved in the very fragmentary sources for his reign at present available. Little can be made of '[Ca]rchemish' in *EA* 54, line 51; the context now lost might well have provided background for Suppiluliuma's subsequent siege of Carchemish about a decade later.

CERTAIN SYRIAN AMARNA LETTERS

Among the letters of the renowned Aziru, *EA* 156 and 158 are merely protestations of loyalty of little chronological value. But several more can be put into a fairly plausible sequence. In *EA* 157, lines 9–12, Aziru as self-confessed ‘helper’ of the king’s servants complains that the elders of Šumur have refused him admittance to their city. Aziru already fears that the Hittite king may attack him, and so requests troops (lines 28–33); these allusions may serve to date this letter to Suppiluliuma’s ‘First’ Syrian War, when he was already marching into Syria. At this time Aziru was apparently summoned to Egypt by letter(s) of which no draft has survived (for *EA* 162, see below and in section V, p. 32). But in his letters *EA* 164 to 167, one to the king and others to Egyptian officials, Aziru insists that he cannot come to Egypt until the king of Hatti has left Nuḥašše, for fear he invades Amurru. This fits perfectly the time of Suppiluliuma’s ‘First’ Syrian War and his conquest of Nuḥašše after despoiling Qatna.¹ But Aziru lingered in Syria through greed as well as fear, because Akizzi of Qatna complained not only of Hittite depredations, but also that Aziru was seizing citizens of Qatna, doubtless taking advantage of Akizzi’s helpless state.² In Phoenicia thereafter, Aziru quickly gained control of Šumur while in league with Zimrida of Sidon, as reported to the pharaoh both by Abimilki of Tyre (*EA* 149, lines 37–40, 67–70) and by Ribaddi of Byblos (*EA* 138, lines 34–35 in retrospect). Then in *EA* 159 Aziru promises to (re)build Šumur, a promise repeated but still unfulfilled in his *EA* 160, 161; his excuse is the alleged hostility of the kings of Nuḥašše. After Aitakama’s probably speedy return to Qadesh as a Hittite vassal, Abimilki of Tyre reports that Aziru is now in alliance with Aitakama against Biryawaza³ (*EA* 151, lines 59–63). Then, the pharaoh again summons Aziru to Egypt (*EA* 162), threatens to kill him and all his family if he is found to be plotting treachery (lines 35–38), and has heard that Aziru has made common cause with the ruler of Qadesh who is *persona non grata* with the king (lines 22–25).⁴ In *EA* 168, Aziru once more promises to come to Egypt;

1. *PD*, No. 1, obv. lines 37–38, pp. 12/13.

2. *EA* 55, lines 44 ff., where Akizzi requests funds to ransom his citizens captured by Aziru.

3. Biryawaza for ‘Namyawaza’, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 37 (1940–41), 171.

4. By this time, of course, Aitakama was a Hittite vassal and had been denounced to the pharaoh by four associated rulers in identical terms (*EA* 174–176a, see p. 14, n. 4 above), as having attacked the king’s cities in Amki and co-operating with Hittite forces. By now, Byblos was lost by Ribaddi ‘whom his brother threw out of the gate of his city’ (*EA* 162, lines 2 ff.; *EA* 136–138) and whom Aziru

the badly-damaged references to things coming for the king by ship (lines 9-10) and his request for 'life' till he reach the king (lines 14-15) suggest, but cannot prove, that Aziru's departure for Egypt was imminent. That he went to Egypt and stayed long enough (a year or more?) for rumours to circulate that he would not be able to return to Syria, is shown by *EA* 169 and 170. In *EA* 170, Aziru's brother Ba'aluya and his associate Batti'ilu report to Egypt that 'troops of Hatti and Lupakku¹ (pers. name) have taken cities of Amki . . .'. The royal archives at Ugarit further indicate that Ba'aluya was regent in Amurru during Aziru's absence² and that he was in dispute with Ugarit. In *EA* 169, a son of Aziru writes urgently to Egypt that various people are saying that Aziru will never return and are menacing Amurru. That Aziru did return from Egypt confirmed in the rulership of Amurru is also certain.³ Inheriting the dispute with Ugarit, he brought it to a satisfactory settlement with Niqmad II, now a Hittite vassal.⁴ However, Suppiluliuma evidently could not tolerate any risk of his wealthy new vassal Ugarit being drawn out of the Hittite orbit by alliance with a nominally Egyptian state such as Amurru obviously then was. Hence Suppiluliuma seems at this juncture finally to have compelled Aziru to desert Egyptian for Hittite suzerainty, an allegiance to which he henceforth adhered until his death.⁵ This intervention of Suppiluliuma further handed over to the rulers of Sidon. That Ribaddi was then murdered by these (cf. Redford, *JEA* 45 (1959), 37) is not actually stated, but is possible; Ribaddi's eventual fate is still uncertain.

1. This Lupakku is pretty certainly the Hittite general Lupakkis who was active in N. Syria on the eve of Suppiluliuma's 'Second' Syrian War; *Deeds*, Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956), 92-93.

2. *PRU* IV, Dossier IIC, pp. 281-286 (esp. 282-283) in which Niqmepa of Amurru has claims against Ammistamru I of Ugarit, Ba'aluya of Amurru against Niqmad II of Ugarit, and Aziru also against Niqmad, in this order.

3. On Ugaritic evidence in the preceding note and Aziru's later role as vassal of Suppiluliuma and Mursil II, *PD*, No. 5, and recently edited treaty-fragments noted below, n. 5.

4. For order of events here, see *PRU* IV, 283.

5. The 'revolt' of Aziru against Suppiluliuma in *PD*, No. 5, obv. line 2 is not easy to place. It may have been an otherwise unrecorded lapse either before or during the 'Second' Syrian War. However, if in the 'First' Syrian War Aziru made nominal submission to the Hittite - plundering anti-Hittite Qatna being a profitable means of exemplifying this - then Aziru's subsequently-continued role of Egyptian vassal, above all his visit to Egypt and Egyptian confirmation of his rule in Amurru, might well be construed as 'rebellion' by Suppiluliuma. Aziru's 'restoration' to Hittite service (*PD*, No. 5, line 3) would then most fittingly be identified with his submission to a regular vassal-treaty relationship with Suppi-

CERTAIN SYRIAN AMARNA LETTERS

may also have been the occasion of Akizzi of Qatna's letters *EA* 53 and 54 (mentioned above) in which he fears Aitakama and the Hittite king. With Aziru there naturally went over to Hatti all his territorial gains and his alliances. This grave blow to Egyptian nominal rule in Syria is apparently reflected in *EA* 98: the writer says to his correspondent, 'Why have you held back from Šumur, since all lands from Byblos to Ugarit have fallen away (*sc.* to the enemy), following (*lit.* 'after') Aziru?'¹

EA 155 from Abimilki of Tyre to the pharaoh must next be considered. Abimilki calls himself servant of the king and of 'Mayati' (lines 7-10), or just of Mayati (lines 15, 22, 26), declares that 'Mayati is my life night and day' (lines 29-30) and describes Tyre as the city of Mayati - i.e., of

luliuma after having made alliance with Ugarit the latter's vassal (*PRU* iv, 283). For the Akkadian version of this treaty see *PD*, No. 4. Portions of a Hittite version of Suppiluliuma's treaty with Aziru have more recently come to light, see Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958), 75; now edited by H. Freydank, *MIO* 7 (1960), 356-381. This treaty confirms the picture of Aziru signing it after his return from Egypt: it shows him submitting to Suppiluliuma after he 'left the [bounda]ry(?) of the land of Egypt' (1:18', pp. 359, 367), or 'came from the door of the land of Egypt' (1:24', pp. 360, 368). On these Hittite-Syrian vassal-treaties generally, cf. V. Korošec, *RHA* 18, Fasc. 66 (1960), 65-79.

Between Suppiluliuma's two Syrian wars (see p. 16, n. 7 above), Akizzi of Qatna reports (*EA* 53, lines 40-44) that Nuḥašše and other lands (actually Hittite vassals) were 'faithful' to Egypt at the time. Evidently Nuḥašše and its neighbours were restive under, and not reconciled to, the Hittite yoke. But Hittite military activity in N. Syria at this time (see on *EA* 170, p. 18 and p. 16, n. 7 above) probably discouraged or quelled any move toward open revolt.

But the mere length of the 'Second' Syrian War (6 years altogether) and the constant mention of fighting in the pitifully-preserved *Deeds*-fragments Nos. 37 ff. (*YCS* 10, 112 ff.) both show that then Suppiluliuma apparently had his hands full in trying to enthrone and maintain Mattiwaza as king in Mitanni against determined opposition from Šuttarna III and Assyria, and in coping also with new outbreaks of trouble in Asia Minor itself (Išḫupitta, etc.). This would be a most fitting time for Nuḥašše's bid for independence, the revolt of *PD*, No. 5. Qadesh had already been attacked by Egyptian forces at the same time as the Hurrian (Mitannian) attack on the Hittite detachments in Murmuriga (*YCS* 10, 93) - start of the 'Second' Syrian War - but was relieved by a Hittite flying column. However, Suppiluliuma's difficulties further north, the revolt of Nuḥašše, and very possibly the desire to avoid further attack from Egypt perhaps moved Aitakama (or his counsellors) at this juncture to desert the Hittite fold for a perhaps easier Egyptian nominal suzerainty. *PD*, No. 5 indicates that Aziru of Amurru remained loyal to Hatti, and fought Suppiluliuma's foes - i.e. helped to bring Nuḥašše and Qadesh quickly back into the Hittite orbit? Cf. also Cavaignac, *Syria* 33 (1956), 48, end.

1. *PRU* iv, 283.

Meritaten, eldest daughter of Akhenaten, who became Smenkhkarē's queen. Now, Meritaten became chief lady in the land (replacing Nefertiti) well on in Akhenaten's reign, even before she became consort of the co-regent Smenkhkarē.¹ The important news that Meritaten had replaced Nefertiti had become known quickly to Egyptian officials abroad as well as at home, and so – probably at the suggestion of his Egyptian² scribe – Abimilki of Tyre flatteringly includes reference to the new first lady in the letter (*EA* 155) that he now dictates to Akhenaten, urgently seeking redress against Sidon. Hence, Abimilki's extant correspondence is to be dated to the later years of Akhenaten's reign, and *EA* 155 after Nefertiti's fall from favour.³ It is perhaps noteworthy that *no* surviving Amarna letters are addressed to an **A(na)hururiya*, i.e. '*Ankhkheperurē* (Smenkhkarē); even Tutankhamūn in his 3 years (at most) at Amarna received at least one (*EA* 9) directed to him by name.⁴ This absence may suggest, though it does not prove, that Smenkhkarē was wholly a co-regent and never reigned alone when Asiatic rulers would have had occasion to correspond with him.

Ribaddi's letters allow of some correlation with the other sources.⁵ He already ruled Byblos under Amenophis III,⁶ who had sent troops at Ribaddi's request in circumstances involving Abdi-aširta of Amurru.⁷ In *EA* 75, lines 35–40, Ribaddi reports that the Hittite king has overcome 'all lands that belonged to the king of Mita<nni> . . .', and that Abdi-aširta of Amurru has gone over to the Hittite.⁸ This letter (lines 25–34)

1. See section III and p. 9, n. 1, p. 11, n. 1, above. If 'city of Mayati' is not merely an emphatic expression, it may indicate that Tyre was contributor to the *pr*, personal fortune, of the heiress Meritaten; cf. Helck, *MDOG* 92 (1960), 10.

2. See Albright, *JEA* 23 (1937), 196–202.

3. *EA* 155 might conceivably be Abimilki's last letter from Tyre, if the damaged reference to his taking ship were to be construed as abandonment of Tyre, but this is uncertain.

4. Edel, *JNES* 7 (1948), 15.

5. Sturm's study of the Ribaddi correspondence (*Klio* 26 (1933), 1–28) is very useful, but in the light of fuller material now available from other sources, the overall reconstruction here offered necessarily differs from his.

6. Since whose return from a visit to Sidon, date unknown, there had been unrest in Syria: *EA* 85, lines 69–73, a retrospective reference.

7. Retrospective references in *EA* 108, lines 28–33; 117, lines 21–28; 132, lines 10–18; cf. 131, lines 31–34.

8. This reference suggests that Abdi-aširta (for self-preservation) made nominal submission to the Hittite king, as Aziru likewise probably did later during Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War, but subsequently maintained relations with Egypt.

also reports the murder of Aduna, king of Irqata,¹ and overthrow of the rulers of Ardata and Amm/bi, with the connivance of Abdi-aširta (*EA* 73, lines 25–27). The Hittite incursion mentioned may very well be Suppiluliuma's second foray into Syria, some time before his 'First' Syrian War. Irqata's falling into Abdi-aširta's power may be presupposed in his own letter *EA* 62, lines 13, 21–22, according to which he comes from Irqata to 'look after' Šumur.² Then, *EA* 85, line 36, has been held to mean that Ribaddi had now lost Šumur; and *EA* 84, lines 11–16, certainly records its loss to Abdi-aširta.³ In *EA* 85, lines 51–55, Ribaddi further mentions the visit of the king of Mitanni to Šumur and his nearly visiting Byblos. This would fit in well with Tušratta's expedition into Syria on the eve of, and direct cause of, Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War, see above on Aitakama of Qadesh. Perhaps it is in the period between *EA* 75 and *EA* 85, and before this Syrian War, that the events of *EA* 89 belong. Ribaddi had been in marriage-alliance with an unnamed king of Tyre, but the latter and his wife (Ribaddi's sister) and their sons had been slain in a *coup d'état* which was apparently inspired by Abdi-aširta.⁴ A usurper, hostile to Ribaddi and a *protégé* of Abdi-aširta, apparently gained power in Tyre. However, Abdi-aširta's own death must have occurred soon after this, as it is Aziru who rules Amurru and refuses to leave it for Egypt during the 'First' Syrian War (see p. 17 above). If so, Abdi-aširta's death may have spelt the end of the usurper's brief dominance over Tyre; Abimilki, the contemporary of Aziru, probably supplanted this usurper, hence Aziru's hostility to him (as in *EA* 146–155, *passim*). By the time that Ribaddi wrote *EA* 106, he had faced 5 years of hostility (lines 16–17), from Abdi-aširta and Aziru; Šumur was not taken by Aziru then, but fell soon after (e.g. *EA* 138, lines 34–35). If Aziru succeeded his father just before the

1. Actually carried out by mercenaries (*EA* 75, line 26) under the youthful Aziru's leadership: *EA* 139, 140, retrospective references in two letters of rather later date. In them, Ilirapiḫ of Byblos denounces Aziru to the king, listing some of his 'criminal' exploits and culminating in his latest deceit of which the nature is lost in the lacunae of one letter and disguised in the elliptical wording of the other (perhaps denouncing Ilirapiḫ to the king, falsely?). If *EA* 140, lines 22–23 be taken literally, they *might* well be a back-reference to Aziru's Egyptian visit. In that case, Ilirapiḫ would be a successor of Ribaddi's at Byblos, and his letters 139 and 140 would then perhaps date from the 16th year of Akhenaten, rather later than suggested below in section V, pp. 29, 30 (year 13/14 of Akhenaten).

2. So Schachermeyr in a letter to Sturm, cf. *Klio* 26 (1933), p. 7 at end of n. 1 from p. 6.

3. So Sturm, *op. cit.*, 6 and n. 1.

4. On this letter, see W. F. Albright and W. L. Moran, *JCS* 4 (1950), 163–168.

'First' Syrian War (see above), this 5 years will cover a period directly preceding that War; on this point, and for the careers of Ribaddi, Aziru, etc., synchronised with the reigns and deeds of Akhenaten and Suppiluliuma, see further in section V below. The S. Syrian or Palestinian letters from, or to, Jerusalem, Lachish, Shechem, Ascalon, Gezer, etc., have been entirely left aside, because they are so local in their interests and contain no reference to more distant events that would be of direct use in the present chronological study.

V

Suppiluliuma, Syria and the Amarna Pharaohs

SUPPILULIUMA's direct links with the Amarna Pharaohs are two: firstly, the letter *EA* 41 written to <Nap>huria, Akhenaten, after the latter's accession to sole power, in which the Hittite monarch refers to previous relations with Amenophis III;¹ and secondly, the Deeds of Suppiluliuma according to which the widow² of Nibhururiya, Tutankhamūn,³ asks Suppiluliuma for one of his sons in order to make him her husband and king of Egypt. This event occurred in the first year of Suppiluliuma's 6 years' long 'Second' Syrian War; at the end of the six years – i.e., 5 years after Tutankhamūn's death – Suppiluliuma died, but it is quite uncertain whether this 'war' was really ended by then, or whether he had intended to continue it.

1. Those previous relations would include the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Egypt over the resettlement of the Gasgean people of Kuruštama in Egyptian-held territory, cf. Malamat, *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955), 2–6, esp. p. 6.

2. W. Federn, *JCS* 14 (1960), 33, has now most satisfyingly explained the term *Dahamunzu* as the Egyptian title *t³ ḥm(t)-nsw, 'the Royal Wife', Queen. Although in formal inscriptions the title is normally written in the stereotyped form ḥmt-nsw, in the Amarna period the 'vulgar', Late-Egyptian, definite article (t³, in fem.) was occasionally written out before it, following contemporary speech. For an example see *COA* III, 190–191, fig. 26, from Boundary-stelae K, line 17, and x, line 19 (= Davies, *Rock Tombs, El Amarna* v, 1908, Pls. 30, 32).

3. Edel, *JNES* 7 (1948), 14–15, and earlier Sturm, *RHA* 2, Fasc. 13 (1933), 161–176; cf. recently Güterbock, *RHA* 18, Fasc. 66 (1960), 57–63. J. Vergote, *Tout-ankh-amon dans les archives hittites*, 1961, has not yet reached me while writing this.

SUPPILULIUMA, SYRIA AND AMARNA PHARAOHS

The 'First' Syrian War fell in Akhenaten's sole reign,¹ i.e. after his 9th year if an 8-year co-regency with his father be assumed as is provisionally done here. That this 'war' was much later than Akhenaten's 12th year is highly improbable, see further below (pp. 30-31). Before this 'war', Suppiluliuma had already reigned 20 years, spending most of his time in restoring the Hittite realm and beating back its Anatolian foes (see section II on *KUB* XIX, 9 above). Hence, Suppiluliuma's accession may be placed some 20 years before the death of Amenophis III, minus the few years (about 3 at most) by which the 'First' Syrian War followed Amenophis III's death and Akhenaten's accession to sole power. On the scheme adopted here, Suppiluliuma's accession would therefore fall 20 years before the 9th to 12th years of Akhenaten - i.e. within about the 18th to 21st years of Amenophis III. This would give Suppiluliuma a reign of some 38 to 41 years altogether;² as Akhenaten's year 12 is perhaps the

1. Because at this juncture *EA* 55 from Akizzi of Qatna is addressed to Nam-huria, Akhenaten; see above, section IV, p. 16 and n. 5.

2. Maximally, years 18 to 38 of Amenophis III make 20 years; minimally, his years 21 to 38 make 17 years. The following periods of Akhenaten's sole reign (years 9 to 17, making 8 years), the 8 years of Tutankhamūn, and the 5 remaining years of the 'Second' Syrian War after his death down to Suppiluliuma's own decease, all make a further 21 years. Hence, Suppiluliuma's reign would be maximally $20 + 21 = 41$ years, or minimally $17 + 21 = 38$ years (figure adopted here).

If the co-regency of Amenophis III and IV be denied, then on the scheme put up here, Suppiluliuma would accede 8 years later in Amenophis III's reign (years 26-29). Also, if Akhenaten was sole ruler from his accession (year 1), the 'First' Syrian War could then be pushed back at will to any point within his years 1 to 12; - but every year that it is so pushed back will automatically add a further year to Suppiluliuma's total reign, already long enough (accession, 20 years before the 'First' War whatever its date), so any such moving back of the date of the War should be avoided unless really necessary. Denial of the co-regency could have a similar lengthening effect on the reigns of other rulers functioning at the time of this War, e.g. the reigns of Tušratta of Mitanni (see end of this section, and p. 33, n. 3 below), Aitakama of Qadesh (see section IV, p. 16 and n. 4 above), and Aziru (just before 'First' Syrian War until at least the 9th year of Mursil II, or a little longer than Aitakama).

On the other hand, if an 11-year co-regency be adopted with Aldred, the 'First' Syrian War *cannot* precede Akhenaten's 12th year (except by months or weeks), nor can it very well follow the 12th year either (see further on in this section, pp. 30-31), unless one is prepared to invoke the alternative reasoning given on p. 30, n. 4 below. Otherwise, Aldred's view remains possible but would allow little or no leeway in dating the 'First' Syrian War and events tied to it.

most plausible date for the 'First' Syrian War (pp. 30-31 below), Suppiluliuma's accession would fall in about the 21st year of Amenophis III, giving the Hittite monarch a reign of 38 years.

But this so-called 'First' Syrian War was not Suppiluliuma's first military adventure in Syria and Mitanni. He appears to have clashed with Mitanni in Syria twice before this. On the first occasion, Tušratta of Mitanni defeated the Hittites; on the second, Suppiluliuma was more successful, raided through Syria, and apparently gained Šarrupši of Nuḥašše as vassal. These two forays call for some scrutiny.

In *EA* 17, lines 32-45, Tušratta announces his success in defeating Hittite forces (whether in Syria or from E. Asia Minor is not stated) and sends a sample of the booty to Amenophis III and his own sister Giluhepa, married to that king. As Tušratta's greetings go in the first place to Amenophis III and Giluhepa, with no mention of Taduhepa, it is, of course, obvious that *EA* 17 was written at some time before Amenophis III married Tušratta's daughter. How long before, it is impossible to say with certainty. As Amenophis III had married Taduhepa by his 36th year at the very latest,¹ and the negotiations took some time,² perhaps beginning in year 34, *EA* 17 must pretty certainly be earlier than that date. Year 34 of Amenophis III (with an 8-year co-regency) would be year 5 of Akhenaten and the approximate date of the move to Amarna, earliest date at which the tablet could be brought there. But if it formed part of 'recent' current correspondence – i.e. since the start of the co-regency – it might possibly date back as early, say, as year 30 of Amenophis III and be brought to Amarna later; the 5 years within his years 30-34 is probably

1. Date of the hieratic docket on *EA* 23, a 'copy' of a letter from Tušratta to Amenophis III in which Taduhepa is explicitly referred to as 'wife' of Amenophis III.

2. *EA* 29, line 26, mentions in retrospect a period of 3 months in one preliminary stage of the negotiations, while *EA* 20, lines 23, 15-16, mentions a further period of 6 months, promising that Taduhepa should be sent within the year. When one allows for all the comings and goings, the first overtures and final consummation of the marriage in Egypt, it is perhaps reasonable to place the first moves in the 34th year of Amenophis III, the definite promise made (*EA* 20) and Taduhepa sent to Egypt by the end of his 35th year, so that she and Amenophis III were safely married by the time of his 36th year when the present copy of *EA* 23 was made and as implied by the wording of the greeting of the letter. As Tušratta's sister Giluhepa is never mentioned in any of this correspondence about the marriage of Taduhepa, it may be presumed that she had died since *EA* 17 was written, and that in effect Taduhepa would be her 'replacement', to maintain the marriage-alliance of the Egyptian and Mitannian royal houses.

as close as one can plausibly get to a definite date at present. Hence, the Hittite incursion of *EA* 17 would fall within those years 30–34 of Amenophis III and well within the reign of Suppiluliuma on the scheme suggested above and justified in greater detail below. This incursion may be considered as Suppiluliuma's first known Syrian campaign, some 10 to 15 years after his accession.¹ To avoid confusion with the ill-named 'First Syrian War', this first and unsuccessful campaign will be called his 'first Syrian foray'. The reason for this Hittite incursion into Syria, or at least into Mitanni-dominated territory, is as yet unknown. No immediate Hittite attempt to avenge their defeat is known, but a very few years later Suppiluliuma found cause to make a second and more successful foray into Syria before his 'First' Syrian War.

This intervening campaign of Suppiluliuma between the first foray and 'First' War is reflected in two sources: *PD*, No. 1 and the *EA* letters. It will here be referred to as the 'second Syrian foray'.

A close reading of *PD*, No. 1 suggests the following outline of events. When Suppiluliuma concluded an agreement with Artatama II, 'king of Hurri', Tušratta of Mitanni took offence to the point of open hostilities. The reason for Tušratta's sharp reaction is probably not far to seek. Tušratta ascended the Mitannian throne in irregular circumstances. At the death of his father Šuttarna II, Artasšumara, apparently(?) the heir-presumptive, was murdered and the youthful Tušratta was enthroned. The bitter opposition later offered to his son Mattiwaza by Artatama II and Šuttarna III his son, who claimed the title 'king of Hurri' also borne by Tušratta alongside that of 'king of Mitanni', suggests that Artatama was a rival claimant for the Mitannian throne.² If so, the ousted Artatama and Suppiluliuma smarting under his previous reverse would have a common grudge against Tušratta, to whom their collusion would be ample provocation.

The hostile reaction of Tušratta is not further described. But Suppiluliuma in turn hit back by plundering on 'this side', or west bank, of the Euphrates (*PD*, No. 1, obv. line 4) and by conducting a raid as far as the Lebanon which he then called his boundary, on this, the second Syrian foray. It must have been at this time that Šarrupši king of Nuḥašše became Suppiluliuma's vassal,³ because it was to Suppiluliuma as overlord that

1. I.e., depending on which one of the years 30–34 of Amenophis III be taken as possible date for this first Syrian 'foray' or campaign.

2. Cf. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 1944, 79, for this tricky question; for a different view, Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957), 67–68.

3. See also Goetze, *ANET*, 318, n. 16.

Šarrupši appealed for help a little later when Tušratta of Mitanni attacked him.¹

However, Tušratta could not be expected to remain a passive bystander. Now that Suppiluliuma had made the lands west of the Euphrates virtually Hittite territory, he in turn would plunder there (*PD*, No. 1, obv. line 7). In particular, *PD*, No. 3, obv. 1:2-5, indicates that Tušratta attacked Suppiluliuma's vassal, Šarrupši of Nuḥašše. Šarrupši appealed to his suzerain for aid, troops were sent for his relief, and Tušratta withdrew (was 'expelled' in Suppiluliuma's words) to Mitanni proper beyond the Euphrates. The next move was Suppiluliuma's crossing the Euphrates further up in the north-east, into Isuwa – thereby beginning the 'First' Syrian War.

Further reference to the letters and misfortunes of Ribaddi of Byblos is necessary here. Measured against the history of Amurru, Ribaddi's career falls into three phases: (i) the beginning of his rule in Byblos and trouble with Abdi-aširta that Amenophis III sent troops to quell;² (ii) a further period of trouble that is described in contemporary Amarna letters; (iii) further trouble with Abdi-aširta's successor Aziru, until Ribaddi finally disappears from view. Period (i) is mentioned only in retrospect.³

Period (ii) is fairly well documented. In *EA* 68-70, 72-74, Ribaddi is already complaining of Abdi-aširta's hostility, culminating in the loss of Šigata (*EA* 74, line 24). In *EA* 75, by conspiracy and murder, Abdi-aširta's hirelings and supporters gain control of Irqata, Amm/bi, and Ardata,⁴ while the king of Hatti is reported to have overcome 'all lands that belonged to the king of Mita<nni>', Abdi-aširta having made a prob-

1. *PD*, No. 3, pp. 58/59. That the wording used by (or put into the mouth of) Šarrupši need *not* of itself imply any prior recognition of Suppiluliuma's overlordship is rightly stated by J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 21 (1952), 414, n. 3, referring to the example of Ahaz of Israel and Tiglathpileser III (2 Kings xvi, 7), but the other considerations discussed here make the reality of the 'second Syrian foray' hard to deny. Once grant the existence of that campaign, and Šarrupši's appeal then comes most naturally as from a vassal. A minor point against identifying the events of *PD*, No. 1 here ascribed to the separate 'foray' as merely anticipatory references to the 'First' Syrian War subsequently described in detail in that document, is that the historical resumé of the treaty *PD*, No. 1 would then become incredibly confused, prolix and repetitive in its account of 'one' war, wholly out of character with all other such prologues which are usually very concise.

2. See section IV, p. 20 with nn. 6-7 above.

3. See preceding note.

4. See p. 21 and n. 1 above; *EA* 76 goes with 74 and 75.

ably nominal submission to the Hittite king.¹ This Hittite campaign cannot be the 'first Syrian foray' which was a defeat for Hatti (see above, pp. 24-25). It cannot be identified with Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War, because by then Aziru was ruler of Amurru, and used Suppiluliuma's presence in Syria at that time as his excuse for not coming to Egypt;² see also *EA* 138, lines 31-33 (retrospective) and cf. further below. So, on these grounds alone, the successful Hittite campaign conducted in the time of Abdi-aširta as far as Amurru and Lebanon must fall after Suppiluliuma's ill-fated first foray and before the 'First' War, and must with reasonable certainty be identified with the 'second Syrian foray' of the same extent already postulated just above from *PD*, No. 1, obverse line 4, at this very period.

Meantime, Ribaddi suffered further loss from Abdi-aširta; in *EA* 78-83, he loses Bit-Arquha (*EA* 79) and narrowly escapes assassination in Beruna (*EA* 81-82). At about the same time, Abdi-aširta instigated a *coup d'état* at Tyre, in which its king, his wife (Ribaddi's sister) and their sons perished, thus knocking away one more support from under Ribaddi.³ Finally, Ribaddi lost Šumur to Abdi-aširta;⁴ in *EA* 85, lines 51-55, Ribaddi also reports at this time that the king of Mitanni had marched as far as Šumur, but not to Byblos owing to lack of water, and had returned to his own land. In *EA* 95, lines 27-31 (damaged), Ribaddi records the Mitannian king's showing an interest in Amurru, probably on the same occasion. Coming after Suppiluliuma's 'second Syrian foray', these references to Tušratta in Syria may plausibly be identified as the southernmost stage⁵ of that expedition of his across the Euphrates against Hittite-conquered territory (*PD*, No. 1) and Šarrupši of Nuḥašše (*PD*, No. 3), mentioned above as occurring just after the 'second Syrian foray' and immediately prior to the 'First' Syrian War of Suppiluliuma. After Šumur, then Beruna falls to Abdi-aširta (*EA* 87, 88) leaving Ribaddi with Byblos only (under pressure, *EA* 91), though he expresses a vain hope of recovering Beruna (*EA* 93).

At this juncture, Abdi-aširta met a violent end: he was slain by Egyptian

1. See p. 20 and n. 8 above.

2. See p. 17 above; *EA* 164-167.

3. *EA* 89, for which see reference, p. 21, n. 4 above; *EA* 77, lines 13-15, seems to contain a prior mention of Ribaddi's Tyrian ally.

4. *EA* 84, 85, 71; Abdi-aširta's control of Šumur is apparently reflected in his own letters at this time (*EA* 60, 62).

5. See above, p. 13 and nn. 3-4, on possible significance of the southern extension of Tušratta's expedition (consolidating Egypto-Mitannian position?).

seaborne forces (*mišē*)¹ now in Amurru, for not providing certain dues required for payment to Egypt's ally Mitanni.² This would certainly bring Ribaddi some relief, even though only shortlived. With military help he regained control of Šumur (*EA* 102-104; 138, lines 31-33 in retrospect); but Ardata and Ullaza were quickly lost again to Abdi-aširta's sons (*EA* 104, 109). It was probably at this time, following on Abdi-aširta's death, that his usurping *protégé* in Tyre (*EA* 89) was supplanted by Abimilki. Aziru, new ruler of Amurru, would have little cause to love either Ribaddi or Abimilki.

Hence, in the third period of Ribaddi's career, it is no surprise to find Aziru renewing his father's pressure on Ribaddi and progressively putting a stranglehold upon Šumur (*EA* 105-108, 112, 114, 115). At this point, Ribaddi complains of having suffered 5 years of hostility (*EA* 106, line 17), evidently at first from Abdi-aširta and subsequently from Aziru.

In *EA* 157, lines 11-12, Aziru complains that he is barred from Šumur by its rulers, and further (lines 28-32) requests military aid, professing to fear attack from the Hittite king - i.e. Suppiluliuma now invading Syria in his 'First' Syrian War; obviously, Šumur was still Ribaddi's in this War, during which Aziru refused to go to Egypt (*EA* 164-167). But soon after this War, Šumur definitely fell into Aziru's hands. Besides Ribaddi's own reports of this loss,³ Abimilki of Tyre mentions it twice in a letter⁴ which apparently also names Aitakama as ruler of Qadesh⁵ - his role as Hittite vassal after this War. Having got Šumur, Aziru promises to (re)build it (*EA* 159), then blames his failure to do so on hostility from the kings of Nuḥašše (*EA* 160, 161). Although now officially a Hittite vassal, Nuḥašše contained a strong anti-Hittite faction that looked to Egypt;⁶ but the

1. On *mišē* (earlier read as *milim*), see T. O. Lambdin, *JCS* 7 (1953), 75-77.

2. This financial arrangement is one more slight evidence in favour of a continued Egypto-Mitannian alliance, not a rupture as Sturm had premised; see p. 13 and n. 4 above. Also, *EA* 109 implicitly contrasts a present and continuing Egypto-Mitannian alliance with the hostilities of an earlier day.

3. *EA* 116, 131, 132, and probably 127 (badly broken). And cf. *EA* 138, lines 28-37, which gives the whole story of Šumur's changes of ruler in compact retrospect: Šumur taken by Abdi-aširta, recaptured by Ribaddi, lost again to Aziru.

4. *EA* 149, lines 37-40, 67-70.

5. *EA* 149, line 30 - a broken passage, but hardly to be restored as anything else.

6. After the pro-Hittite Šarrupši's death, Addunirari briefly took over Nuḥašše against Hatti (*PRU* IV, Dossier 11A:3, etc.) and appealed to Egypt for help (*EA* 51). After Suppiluliuma had displaced Addunirari and installed Takipšarri, the

hostility between Nuḥašše and Amurru may have been a purely 'local' Syrian rivalry, rather than politically a clash between an Aziru officially Egyptian who had compromised easily with Hatti ('First' Syrian War) and a Nuḥašše officially, though unwillingly, Hittite but looking rather to Egypt.

After the fall of Šumur, Ribaddi was still hard pressed by Aziru, in Byblos itself; cf. *EA* 117, 118, 121-126, 129a, 130, 133, 134. The letters *EA* 126, lines 51-52, 58-60, and 129, line 76, appear to reflect the continuing activity of Hittite troops in Syria after the 'First' Syrian War (late in Akhenaten's reign), much as reported by Akizzi of Qatna concerning Aitakama at this time (*EA* 53, 54), and by others (*EA* 174-176a).

After all this, Ribaddi found occasion to visit Beruta, ruled by Ammunira; *EA* 139, 140, from Ilirapiḫ at Byblos to Egypt, might date from this time. Ilirapiḫ complains bitterly of Aziru, recalling the latter's part in the overthrow of the rulers of Irqata, Amm/bi and Ardata instigated by Abdi-aširta. But Ribaddi's prolonged absence¹ in Beruta was his undoing. A younger and pro-Aziru brother of his closed the gates of Byblos against him and handed over sons and wives of Ribaddi to Aziru (*EA* 136, 137, 142), so that Ribaddi was expelled from his own city and took refuge in Beruta (*EA* 142) whence came his last-known appeal for help (*EA* 138). Shortly after this, Akhenaten issued an ultimatum to Aziru either to come to Egypt in person or to send his son (*EA* 162), and mentions the expulsion of Ribaddi from Byblos by his own brother. He further accuses Aziru of handing over Ribaddi to the rulers of Sidon,² and of making common cause with Aitakama of Qadesh who had thrown in his lot with the Hittites. Eventually, of course, Aziru did go to Egypt, stayed awhile, returned to Amurru and concluded an agreement with Ugarit, and was then taken over by Suppiluliuma as a Hittite vassal - 'all (coast) lands from Byblos to Ugarit' going over with him (*EA* 98); see section IV above.

Finally, the letters of Abimilki of Tyre must be further noticed. The earliest are probably *EA* 146, 147, expressing only suspicion of Zimrida of Sidon and Aziru of Amurru, and *EA* 148, 150, containing Abimilki's anti-Hittite faction evidently persisted in looking to Egypt; they may have goaded Takipšarri into the revolt against Hatti that is briefly considered above, p. 18, n. 5 end.

1. Apparently for at least 4 months, from when Ribaddi had arrived in Beruta and sent his son to Egypt - *EA* 138, lines 75-78, a retrospect written from Beruta.

2. Hostile to Ribaddi (i.e. Zimrida). Ribaddi may have been slain there (so Redford, *JEA* 45 (1959), 37) but this remains uncertain.

requests for Uzu (Palaetyrus) as a watering-place and to see the king. *EA* 153 is undatable, unless it too belongs here. After this, Abimilki has trouble with Zimrida and Aziru. Thus *EA* 149 probably comes next. As Aitakama is ruler of Qadesh, the 'First' Syrian War is past, Aziru has Šumur, and Zimrida has got Uzu; now, Zimrida, Aziru and the Arvadites are banded together against Tyre. In *EA* 151, Aitakama and Aziru are reported to be acting in concert;¹ and *EA* 151, 152, 154 record the growing pressure upon Abimilki from Zimrida and Aziru. Finally, in *EA* 155 the now desperate Abimilki appeals in the name of Meritaten, the new first lady of Egypt² within years 12–14 of Akhenaten; in line 69, he seems to hint that he is abandoning Tyre, by saying that he and his 'whole city' are leaving by ship.³ Thus, Abimilki's last-known letter was written not later than Akhenaten's 14th year, and the remainder of his known correspondence plus all other prior events, including the 'First' Syrian War, must be earlier. In this last letter, Abimilki reports that the ruler of Beruta has left by ship and the ruler of Sidon is doing likewise (i.e. leaving their own cities). Hence, Ribaddi must by this time have left Beruta and was not even detained in Sidon (*EA* 162, lines 12–13): i.e. Byblos had in all likelihood fallen to Aziru's supporters some time before *EA* 155 was written.⁴

1. The arrival of this news, plus that of Aitakama's co-operation with the Hittites (*EA* 53, 54, 174–176a) is then reflected in the pharaoh's accusations against Aziru in *EA* 162.

2. See above pp. 19–20.

3. If so, this would certainly then be the last letter in his series, cf. already p. 20, n. 3 above.

4. It is possible to argue that – as Abimilki nowhere mentions Ribaddi's expulsion from Byblos – the loss of Byblos and Ribaddi's further stay at Beruta before ending up in Sidon must fall later than *EA* 155 (and so after Akhenaten's 14th year). This requires an assumption that the rulers of Beruta and Sidon quickly returned to their respective cities after *EA* 155 had been written. But whatever be true of Zimrida of Sidon, it looks in *EA* 155 as if the ruler of Beruta (still Ammunira, probably) had finally left – fled, perhaps gone to Egypt and never to return. Hence, the other solution is adopted in the text above, i.e. to put the events leading to the fall of Byblos before *EA* 155 and Akhenaten's 14th year. It is no objection that Abimilki does not mention the loss of Byblos (as he does of Šumur); either the relevant letter has not survived or come to light, or else it was 'old news' by the time *EA* 155 was written (hence the suggestion in this work of a clear interval in year 14, as a minimum, between the loss of Byblos and *EA* 155 being written).

If the fall of Byblos *were* to be put after *EA* 155 and year 14, the whole chronological scheme here put forward need be adjusted downward by only two-and-a-bit years at the most (Akhenaten's years 15, 16, and incomplete 17), and dates adjusted accordingly.

SUPPILULIUMA, SYRIA AND AMARNA PHARAOHS

After these very long but essential preliminaries, it is now possible to work back from this point and so obtain reasonable, approximate dates for the 'First' Syrian War and the events that preceded it, in terms of the reigns of the pharaohs of the Amarna Period.

Thus, if *EA* 155 was written late in Akhenaten's year 14 and Byblos passed from Ribaddi's rule to the control of Aziru's supporters early in the same year at the latest, the following events must then be fitted-in *before* year 14 and *after* the 'First' Syrian War.

After 'First' Syrian War:

IN PHOENICIA	IN N. SYRIA
(a) Aziru takes Šumur (<i>EA</i> 149; also <i>EA</i> 116, 131, 132, etc.).	Aitakama, Hittite vassal in Qadesh (<i>EA</i> 149).
(b) Aziru delays rebuilding Šumur (<i>EA</i> 160, 161).	
(c) Aziru and Aitakama are allies (<i>EA</i> 151).	
(d) Hittite troops may be used against Byblos (<i>EA</i> 126:59-60) - by Aziru and Aitakama?	Aitakama is now co-operating with Hittite troops (<i>EA</i> 53, 54, 174-176a).
(e) Ribaddi continually troubled by Aziru (<i>EA</i> 117-118, 126, 130, etc.).	Abimilki increasingly troubled by Zimrida (<i>EA</i> 151, 152, 154).
(f) Ribaddi spends 4 months at Beruta (<i>EA</i> 138:75-78).	
(g) Byblos passes to Aziru's supporters (<i>EA</i> 136, 137, 142, 162).	

It would hardly seem reasonable to cram all of this into less than a year; to squeeze it all into year 14 by pushing the fall of Byblos and *EA* 155 close together into the very end-part of that year would be very unreasonable. Therefore, it is suggested that the above events and developments should be spread over years 13 and 14 of Akhenaten; then the 'First' Syrian War can hardly fall any later than year 12 of Akhenaten as a reasonable minimal date.

Suppiluliuma's invasion of Isuwa, which really marked the start of the 'First' Syrian War, was presumably conducted in the next campaigning season after Tušratta's expedition into Syria. As suggested above (p. 13 and nn. 4-5), this latter expedition against Šarrupši was also designed

to rally support in Central Syria and Phoenicia, but was broken off when Suppiluliuma sent troops to Šarrupši's aid. Therefore, if the 'First' Syrian War be minimally dated to year 12 of Akhenaten, Tušratta's venture may be dated similarly to the campaigning season that fell in about Akhenaten's year 11. To the period of Tušratta's expedition belong *EA* 85, 95 (and perhaps 86), when Abdi-aširta took Šumur, he dying soon after (*EA* 101), i.e. in about year 11 of Akhenaten. At this time, Ribaddi had faced 5 years' steady hostility (*EA* 106); this would have begun, therefore, not later than about year 7 of Akhenaten (= 36th year of Amenophis III, on 8-year co-regency adopted here).

But Tušratta's expedition was itself his enraged reaction to the successful 'second Syrian foray' by Suppiluliuma, and probably followed it not later than the next campaigning season¹ (year 11), so Suppiluliuma's 'second Syrian foray' would occur about the 10th year of Akhenaten. To this period belong *EA* 75 (and then 78-83), when Abdi-aširta made nominal submission to Suppiluliuma.² One step further back, this foray was in reply to Tušratta's hostility to the agreement concluded between Suppiluliuma and Artatama II 'king of Hurri'. These latter events, then, would go back to about year 9 of Akhenaten.³

To return to early in Akhenaten's 14th year when Ribaddi had lost Byblos, this event was followed by the exasperated Akhenaten's ultimatum to Aziru (*EA* 162) to come to Egypt; this is the letter which alludes to Ribaddi's fall. Aziru's subsequent journey to Egypt, therefore, may fall later in the 14th year. He stayed in Egypt long enough for rumours to circulate that he would not be seen again in Syria (the two anxious letters *EA* 169, 170). At the time Hittite forces under Lupakku (*EA* 170) were active in Syria. This would be Akhenaten's 15th year. But in due course, probably by year 16 of Akhenaten, Aziru returned to Amurru. For a time, like his father and brother before him, he was in dispute with Ugarit,⁴ but eventually (? late in year 16, or early in year 17?) concluded an agreement and alliance with Ugarit. But then Suppiluliuma took a hand: Aziru had to become a Hittite vassal and all of greater Amurru and its alliances 'from Byblos to Ugarit' were lost to Egypt (*EA* 98). Perhaps this came about in Akhenaten's 17th and last year. The deaths in that year of both Akhenaten

1. Just as Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War in turn further followed, 'tit for tat'.

2. Earlier, probably, are *EA* 68-70, 72-74.

3. As does *EA* 41 from Suppiluliuma to Akhenaten, if the latter's accession to sole power came in his 9th year as here assumed.

4. *PRU* IV, Dossier 11C, especially p. 283.

SUPPILULIUMA, SYRIA AND AMARNA PHARAOHS

and his co-regent Smenkhkarē and the accession of the boy Tutankhaten would keep the Egyptian court too occupied with the jockeying of internal politics and intrigue to do much about the Syrian situation. Three years or so later, Amarna was abandoned by the court,¹ and its archive closed; subsequent correspondence would go through Memphis and Thebes. No further correlations are available until the death of Tutankhamūn; the events connected with, and following after, this link with Suppiluliuma's 'Second' Syrian War are sufficiently indicated for the present purpose in the Outline Table of Events, section VII below. Thus, Suppiluliuma's last chief queen, Tawananna, reigned from at least the 12th year of Akhenaten ('First' Syrian War) to the 9th or 10th of Mursil II (cf. already section II, end, p. 5 above), a minimum of 29 years altogether.²

To conclude this part of our discussion, the length of Tušratta's reign can be approximately defined. By Amenophis III's 34th year (see above, p. 24 and nn. 1-2), Tušratta had a daughter Taduhepa old enough to be considered as a wife for Amenophis. In *EA* 17, Tušratta reminisces and tells how he came to the throne in tragic circumstances when quite young. This suggests that he was probably not more than about 18 years old, probably younger, when he ascended the throne. Taduhepa would have been marriageable when 12 to 14 years old, and was not necessarily Tušratta's eldest daughter or born to him before he ascended the Mitannian throne as a mere youth. Hence, it is possible to suggest that Tušratta could hardly have begun to reign much after the 18th year of Amenophis III, i.e. about 16 years before Amenophis III's 34th year. As Tušratta was murdered a year after Tutankhamūn's death (see Table of Events), he reigned altogether at least 20 years as a contemporary of Amenophis III (years 18 to 38), plus 8 years of Akhenaten's sole rule,³ 8 years of Tutankhamūn, and one of Ay, a total of 37 years, and would be about 53 or 55 years old at death if he acceded aged about 16 or 18.

1. The occurrence of Haremhab's name at Amarna merely shows that some people still lived on there after the court's departure, *not* that it was in any way still a royal residence in Haremhab's time. For Haremhab at Amarna, see Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, 1894, p. 43 and Pl. 11:5; *COA* III, p. 4; for later kings there are only a scarab of Ramesses II (*ibid.*) and a slab of Ramesses III (*COA* I, Pl. 58:157).

2. I.e., 13 years (5 + 8) from year 12 of Akhenaten to the death of Tutankhamūn, 5 remaining years of the 'Second' Syrian War, a brief reign of Arnuwandas II, and first 9 or 10 years of Mursil II.

3. If a co-regency of Amenophis III and IV be excluded, then 8 years must be added to Tušratta's reign of 37 years, making it 45 years long. If an 11-year co-regency be preferred, he would reign only 34 years.

VI

Ugarit, Egypt and Hatti

THE discoveries at Ugarit have made it possible to reconstruct the succession of kings there in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., and have thrown additional light on their relations with Egypt as well as with Hatti (sections I, IV, v).

Firstly, a group of documents both textual and archaeological can be dated to the period before the 'First' Syrian War (c. year 12 of Akhenaten) when Niqmad II of Ugarit became a Hittite vassal.

The 'vase de mariage'¹ constitutes pretty good evidence for the marriage of Niqmad II to an Egyptian woman of high rank. The woman concerned was probably not a princess of the blood royal,² but some other girl of noble birth from the Egyptian court.³ This marriage would be an explicit and close link with Egypt. It seems highly unlikely that Niqmad II would have risked an official alliance with Egypt in this way after he had become a vassal of Suppiluliuma in the 'First' Syrian War. Trade-relations with Egypt and elsewhere were one thing; a dynastic alliance with a major power outside the Hittite orbit was quite another matter. Hence, the accession and Egyptian marriage of Niqmad II must have preceded Akhenaten's year 12. The pharaoh concerned (Amenophis III or IV) presumably sought by this marriage to bind Ugarit more securely to the Egyptian throne in the light of political conditions at the time. To help determine the time in question, some consideration must be given to Niqmad II's predecessor.

This predecessor was Ammistamru I,⁴ to whom one Amarna letter may be attributed,⁵ namely *EA* 45. In this, the Ugaritic king apparently

1. Schaeffer and Desroches-Noblecourt in *Ug. III*, 164-168; 179-220, and figs. 118, 126.

2. Cf. Amenophis III's remark as quoted by Kadashman-Enlil I of Babylon in *EA* 4, lines 6-7: 'from of old, a daughter of a king of Egypt has not been given to anyone'.

3. Similarly dressed and diademed, for example, are the daughters of Menna and Nebamūn, high dignitaries under Tuthmosis IV; cf. in *Ug. III*, 198 and figs. 165, 166.

4. Father of Niqmad II. On the dynasty of Ugarit, see generally Nougayrol, *PRU* III, pp. xxxvi-xl, and *PRU* IV, pp. 6-10 and *passim*.

5. *PRU* III, p. xxxvii.

reports messages sent to him by the Hittite king (inviting him to become a subject-ally?), and fears attack by the Hittite because of his loyalty to Egypt. This letter therefore reflects one of Suppiluliuma's campaigns in Syria. The 'First' Syrian War and all later campaigns can be excluded, because Niqmad II was already king of Ugarit by then (*PRU* IV, Dossier IIA).

But either the 'first' or 'second' Syrian foray of Suppiluliuma would offer occasion for Ammistamru's letter. In the first case, the Hittite threat would have been removed when Suppiluliuma met, and was defeated by, the forces of Tušratta (*EA* 17). In the second case, because Ugarit was still Egypt's vassal after Niqmad II's accession, one must assume that the victorious Suppiluliuma did not press Ammistamru I into an alliance as he later did with Niqmad II. As the first of these two possibilities is the easier to believe, it is provisionally adopted here. It also allows more time for events that followed Ammistamru's letter and preceded Niqmad's submission to Suppiluliuma; these include the end-part of Ammistamru I's reign, the accession of Niqmad II, diplomatic exchanges between the latter and Egypt (e.g. *EA* 49), and his Egyptian marriage.

This marriage of an Egyptian lady of noble birth to Niqmad II must have played some role in Egyptian policy. If one assumes that Ammistamru I died within a year or two of the Hittite threat of Suppiluliuma's first Syrian foray, it is permissible to argue that Egypt sought to strengthen her hold on the new king of commercially important Ugarit against any future threat from beyond, and the marriage-alliance with Niqmad II would be a natural enough consequence. If the 'first foray' be placed in about year 33 of Amenophis III (yr. 4 of Akhenaten) as in section V, pp. 24-25 above (years 30-34) with Ammistamru I dying a couple of years later (year 35 of Amenophis III, year 6 of Akhenaten), Niqmad's marriage may have been arranged by year 36 of Amenophis III (7 of Akhenaten) and he would remain Egypt's faithful subject-ally for a further 5 years until the 'First' Syrian War, year 12 of Akhenaten. During the 'second Syrian foray' in the meantime, Niqmad did not waver; Suppiluliuma's expedition was directed inland along the Orontes (Nuḥašše, Amurru, etc.) rather than to the coast.¹

Several other finds belong to this general period prior to year 12 of Akhenaten. The royal palace at Ugarit has yielded alabaster vessels marked

1. As Niqmad II reigned at least 26 years (from before 'First' Syrian War and Akhenaten's year 12, down to Mursil II's 7th year) and in fact more like 32 years (from Akhenaten's 6th year, roughly), his father Ammistamru I perhaps did not reign more than some 20 years at most.

with the name of Amenophis III,¹ and his prenomen appears as *Nmry* (i.e. *Nimmuria*) in a tablet in the alphabetic script of Ugarit.² From Amarna comes a letter of Niqmad II requesting two Nubian pages and an Egyptian physician.³ Akhenaten, Nefertiti and the Aten (early form of name) are named on further alabaster vases from Ugarit.⁴ These were most likely made between years 5 and 9 of the reign, since the name Akhenaten was only in use from his year 5 onward and the early form of the didactic name of the Aten passed out of general use about year 9.⁵ That these vases were sent to Ugarit within those years cannot be proved but is probable.

Secondly, later developments under Haremhab and Mursil II. No more Egyptian royal alabasters (part of diplomatic exchanges and presents) occur at Ugarit until Haremhab's reign. The absence of such vessels in the intervening period is quite simply explained by the fact that Niqmad II remained officially faithful to his Hittite overlord from Akhenaten's 12th year until his own death in the reigns of Mursil II and Haremhab, not indulging in open, high-level diplomacy with Egypt. The presence of vases of Haremhab in the palace at Ugarit⁶ hints at a renewal of Egypto-Ugaritic diplomatic links for at least a short time in that pharaoh's reign. At Ugarit, as already seen on other grounds by Nougayrol and Smith,⁷ this fits in well with the short reign of Arḫalbu, son and first successor of Niqmad II. Arḫalbu, almost alone of his dynasty, bears not a West-Semitic but a Hurrian name and all diplomatic records of his reign are lacking. This has occasioned the plausible suggestion⁸ that, when the Hittite hold on Syria was weakened in the early years of Mursil II's reign, Niqmad II was succeeded or supplanted by his son Arḫalbu, pro-Egyptian/Hurrian in policy as well as Hurrian by (? adopted) name. When Mursil II regained full control in Syria, he would in turn replace Arḫalbu by his younger brother, the pro-Hittite Niqmepa. Quite close dates for these events can be suggested. Two revolts of Nuḫašše and others against Hittite

1. Schaeffer, *Syria* 31 (1954), 41.

2. Virolleaud, *CRAIBL* 1955 (1956), pp. 74-75, presumably to appear in *PRU* v.

3. *EA* 49, see Albright, *BASOR* 95 (1944), 30-33.

4. Schaeffer, *loc. cit.*, and in *Ug. III*, 167 and fig. 120.

5. On the chronological significance of the Aten's names and epithets, see Gunn, *JEA* 9 (1923), 168-176; Sethe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis' IV*, in *Nachrichten d. K. Gesellschaft d. Wiss., Göttingen, Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, 1921, 101-130; Fairman in *COA* III, 153, 183-184.

6. See reference in n. 1 above.

7. *PRU* III, p. xxxvii, n. 2.

8. See preceding note.

dominion are dated to the 7th and 9th years respectively of Mursil II.¹ In the first revolt, Mursil entrusted its suppression to an official Kantuzilis and Šarrikušuḫ king of Carchemish. To this time belongs Šarrikušuḫ's request to Niqmad II of Ugarit that he mobilize against Tette of Nuḫašše.² This request cannot belong to the subsequent revolt in the 9th year, because Šarrikušuḫ died in Kizzuwatna just as that revolt broke out. Thus, Niqmad II was reigning until Mursil II's 7th year. It is possible that at the time of Šarrikušuḫ's request when the Hittites were awkwardly placed in both Syria and Anatolia, Niqmad II died or was supplanted by Arḫalbu. Then for a couple of years into Mursil II's 9th year, Arḫalbu pursued an independent policy, openly carrying on diplomatic exchanges with Egypt (this would be about years 10 to 12 of Haremhab). In Mursil's 9th year, a renewed revolt by Nuḫašše and Aitakama of Qadesh was crushed, Syria fully restored to Hittite rule, and perhaps now Mursil replaced Arḫalbu by Niqmepa in Ugarit, as he also at length replaced Aitakama in Qadesh by the son, NIG.BA-^aU-*aš* or Niqmad(?), who had slain him.³ This Niqmad(?) of Qadesh may have corresponded with Niqmepa of Ugarit.⁴ Alabasters of Ramesses II at Ugarit⁵ may belong after his year 21, during the Egypto-Hittite peace and the reign of Ammistamru II in Ugarit.⁶

VII

An Outline Table of Events for the Period

No attempt can be made here to determine the *absolute* chronology of this period in years B.C.; at the very least, any such study would be vastly

1. Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, pp. 80/81 ff.; 104/5 ff.

2. PRU IV, Dossier IIB; also p. 15, n. 2 above.

3. Götze, *op. cit.*, had suggested a possible reading Ari-Tešup, but in BASOR 95 (1944), 31-32, Albright offers some observations that would favour a reading Niqmad (*Niq-ma-^aAddu*; in Hittite, this would be **Niqmaddaš*).

4. If he is the Niqmad, king of an unspecified land, who sent the letter published as Dossier IVF in PRU IV, III, where Nougayrol guardedly mentions the popularity of royal names in *Niqme-* at Alalakh (Mukiš), perhaps hinting that this Niqmad might be a king of Mukiš.

5. See reference in n. 1, p. 36 above, and Ug. III, 167, fig. 121.

6. The inscribed alabaster vessels in the palace at Ugarit were found in association with tablets of Ammistamru II's reign, Ug. III, 164, this king being a contemporary of the Hittite monarchs Hattusil III and Tudkhaliya IV (PRU IV, 9, 117).

longer than this present one. Therefore, in the margin of the following outline, double dates are given for convenience. The 'high' dates are based on Rowton's recent option¹ for 1304 B.C. as the year of Ramesses II's accession,² and the 'low' dates are likewise reckoned from his former preference of the other date – 1290 B.C. – for this event.³

In the Egyptian dates as reckoned from these bases, four potential sources of error may affect the subjoined Table.

1. The figures adopted for lengths of reign of all the pharaohs concerned, except Sethos I,⁴ are *minimum* ones, and therefore liable to slight increase if new discoveries were to yield higher regnal year-dates.

2. Sethos I has been given 4 years extra over his absolute minimum of 10 years attested,⁵ as 10 years is almost certainly too short for his reign in terms of events and buildings, etc.; the 14 years allowed here is open to adjustment either way.

3. The New Kingdom pharaohs unfortunately did not stick to the older system of reckoning regnal years according to the civil calendar, but instead reckoned them from the anniversaries of their own accessions, so that, unless the king actually acceded on the civil New Year's Day, a civil year always overlapped two regnal years and *vice-versa*.⁶

4. An eight-year co-regency of Amenophis III and IV has been assumed here; exponents of other views will doubtless be able to adjust the Table accordingly.⁷

Allowance and adjustment must be made when any such errors come to light. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, all events have been arranged

1. M. B. Rowton, *JCS* 13 (1959), 1–11; *JNES* 19 (1960), 15–22.

2. The alternatives 1304 and 1290 B.C. for Ramesses II's accession are determined as the only ones that fit certain lunar data within the extreme limits possible for Ramesses II's reign on historical grounds; cf. R. A. Parker, *JNES* 16 (1957), 39–40, 42–43. *Pace* Rowton, the extensive Mesopotamian material still contains too many persistent uncertainties to make possible a final choice of dates, as yet.

3. Rowton, *JEA* 34 (1948), 67–70; cf. also in *Iraq*, 8 (1946), 94–110.

4. And Haremhab (1 year). If the figure '59' in the Mes-inscription is to be read as '58' with Borchardt (see in n. 7, p. 9 above), then the 58 years' minimum period from Akhenaten's accession could be reduced to 57 years.

5. His highest known regnal year is the 11th: Reisner, *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 76 and Pl. 8, a stela from Gebel Barkal.

6. Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 31 (1945), 11–28, especially 23–28.

7. E.g., for an 11-year co-regency, an adjustment downward would become desirable or necessary at some points in the sequences of Amarna letters. If a co-regency be eliminated, some dates (tied to Amenophis III's reign) must be raised by 8 years, and raising of others by less amounts may be needful.

AN OUTLINE TABLE OF EVENTS FOR THE PERIOD

in *successive* little entries, even though at some points various situations were developing *simultaneously*. The arrangement followed and use of phrases like 'in the meantime', etc., will obviate any risk of real distortion of the picture. The whole scheme is basically a flexible relative chronology of events in order, not a set of fixed dates, and is readily susceptible of any needed future adjustment within the limits of the factual data.

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
1406	1392	Accession of Amenophis III (year 1); reigned 37 years (to 1369/1355).
		Before roughly his 30th year, Amenophis III corresponds successively with Karaindash and Kurigalzu I of Babylon, <i>EA</i> 9:19-30 and 10:8-10. Then with Kadashman-Enlil I, <i>EA</i> 1-5.
1403	1389	? From year 4 of Amenophis III, six requests until year 10, when he gains in marriage Giluhepa, daughter of Šuttarna II of Mitanni; 1st visit to Egypt by Ishtar of Nineveh, <i>EA</i> 29:18-20; cf. 17:5, 41; <i>Urkunden IV</i> , p. 1738.
1397	1383	
		Tudkhalia III rules in Hatti; disastrous incursions by various Anatolian peoples (<i>KBo</i> vi, 28). Td. III tries to repel them, eventually with help of prince Suppiluliuma, <i>Deeds</i> , frags. 2-14 (? and 15-24).
1389	1375	Year 18 of Amenophis III, or even somewhat earlier, accession of Tušratta (mere youth) in Mitanni, after Šuttarna II's death and murder of Artasšumara, <i>EA</i> 17.
1386	1372	Year 21 of Amenophis III: accession of Suppiluliuma I in Hatti, who spends first 20 years of his reign repelling the Anatolian foes and consolidating Hatti, before 'First' Syrian War (c. yr. 12, Akhenaten), <i>KUB</i> xix, 9. First capture of Isuwa, <i>Deeds</i> , fr. 25. Cf. also <i>Deeds</i> , frags. 25-27 (? and 15-24).

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOKHS

About B.C.		Events
High	Low	
1377	1363	Year 30 of Amenophis III: 1st Jubilee; ? accession (year 1) of Amenophis IV as co-regent; reigned 16 years (to 1361/1347).
1374	1360	After(?) this date but before year 34, perhaps by Year 33 of Am. III (yr. 4, Am. IV), 'first Syrian foray' by Suppiluliuma. Ammistamru I of Ugarit appeals to Egypt, <i>EA</i> 45 (<i>PRU</i> III, p. xxxvii). Tušratta of Mitanni defeats Hittites and sends sample spoil to Egypt, <i>EA</i> 17. (Giluhepa dies shortly after this ?).
		Sometime in his reign (within first 20 years?), Amenophis III visited Sidon, since when unrest persisted in Syria, <i>EA</i> 35:69-73; (? later) he sent troops to help Ribaddi of Byblos against Abdi-aširta of Amurru, <i>EA</i> 108, 117, etc. (retrospective refs.).
1373	1359	About year 34 of Am. III, Amenophis IV becomes Akhenaten and moves to Amarna (Am. IV, yr. 5).
1372	1358	About year 35 of Am. III, accession of Niqmad II at Ugarit.
1373/2	1359/8	About years 34-35 of Am. III: negotiations to marry Taduhepa, daughter of Tušratta of Mitanni; and by year 36, the marriage is a fact. 2nd visit to Egypt by Ishtar of Nineveh, <i>EA</i> 19-24; yr. 36 hieratic docket on 'copy', <i>EA</i> 23.
1371	1357	Year 36 of Am. III (yr. 7, Akh.): start of 5 years' steady Amurrite hostility against Ribaddi, <i>EA</i> 106.
		Niqmad II of Ugarit marries Egyptian wife (vase, <i>Ug. III</i>); is writer of <i>EA</i> 49.
1370/69	1356/5	Year 37/8 of Amenophis III: Burnaburiash III, newly-acceded at Babylon, writes one letter (<i>EA</i> 6) to Amenophis III.

AN OUTLINE TABLE OF EVENTS FOR THE PERIOD

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
1369	1355	Year 38, Amenophis III dies: Akhenaten now sole ruler (year 9). His W.-Asiatic correspondents include: Tušratta, to Queen Tiyi (<i>EA</i> 26) and for a time thereafter also to Akhenaten who marries Taduhepa (<i>EA</i> 28, etc.), <i>EA</i> 25, 27-29; Suppiluliuma, to maintain relations, <i>EA</i> 41; Burnaburiash III, <i>EA</i> 7, 8, 10-14.
1369	1355	<i>About year 9 of Akhenaten</i> Suppiluliuma concludes agreement with Artatama II, Hurrian pretender(?). Hostile reaction (nature unspecified) from Tušratta, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. Early letters of Ribaddi of Byblos written by this time, <i>EA</i> 68-70, 72-74.
1368	1354	<i>About year 10, Akhenaten.</i> Suppiluliuma's 'second Syrian foray' to spite Tušratta: plunders to W. of Euphrates, <i>PD</i> , No. 1; takes Šarrupši of Nuḥašše as vassal, (<i>PD</i> , No. 3); receives nominal submission from Abdi-aširta of Amurru, <i>EA</i> 75: 35-42; makes the Lebanon his boundary, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. Abdi-aširta by <i>coups d'état</i> gains control in Irqata, Amm/bi, Ardata, Šigata, <i>EA</i> 75, 76, all coastal cities, giving Amurru a seaboard. Perhaps a little later, Abdi-aširta procures overthrow of king of Tyre (Ribaddi's ally), <i>EA</i> 89; a usurper there. Pressure on Ribaddi, all this period, <i>EA</i> 78-83.
1367	1353	<i>About year 11, Akhenaten.</i> Abdi-aširta takes Šumur <i>EA</i> 71, 84; 60, 62; 138: 28-29. Tušratta's Syrian expedition, reply to Suppiluliuma: plunders W. of Euphrates, now Hittite, <i>PD</i> , No. 1; attacks Šarrupši, who appeals to Suppiluliuma, <i>PD</i> , No. 3; meantime(?), reaches Šumur but not Byblos,

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
		and sees Amurru, <i>EA</i> 85: 51-55; 95: 27-31; ?86: 10-12; ?58; Suppiluliuma sends troops to relieve Šarrupši, and Tušratta returns home, <i>PD</i> , No. 3.
		Death of Abdi-aširta, <i>EA</i> 101. Ribaddi recovers Šumur, <i>EA</i> 102-104; 138: 31-34, retrosp. [Abimilki perhaps displaces the usurper in Tyre]. Aziru of Amurru now opposes Ribaddi (<i>EA</i> 105-108, 112-115), who has by now endured 5 years of this Amurrite pressure, <i>EA</i> 106: 17.
1366	1352	<i>About year 12, Akhenaten.</i> Suppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War (episodes numbered for easy reference). 1. Suppiluliuma crosses Euphrates, and conquers Isuwa for '2nd' time, <i>PD</i> , Nos. 1 (= <i>ANET</i> , p. 318) and 3. 2. Sp. then reaches Alše; gives fortress of Kutmar to Antaratli king of Alše (to keep his friendship?), and plunders fortress of Suta, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. 3. Sp. advances toward Wašukanni, Tušratta apparently being there. Tušratta refuses battle, and retires (? Eastward), <i>PD</i> , No. 1, cf. <i>Deeds</i> , frag. 26. Sp. reaches Wašukanni, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. 4. In meantime, Šarrupši of Nuḥašše (pro-Hittite) is murdered by his family, <i>PD</i> , No. 3. Presumably Addunirari accedes (anti-Hittite, pro-Egyptian/Mitannian). 5. Sp. turns West, re-crosses Euphrates, and takes Aleppo, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. 6. Sp. (while at Aleppo?) invites Niqmad II of Ugarit to become his ally against the hostile kings of Mukiš, Nuḥašše, etc., <i>PRU</i> IV, Dossier IIA, 1.

AN OUTLINE TABLE OF EVENTS FOR THE PERIOD

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
		7. Kings of Mukiš and Nuḥašše make a rival bid to secure Niqmad's adhesion to their cause, <i>PRU</i> IV, IIA, 2.
		8. Niqmad II aligns himself with Sp., <i>PRU</i> IV, IIA, 2; this piece of successful Hittite strategy placed the kings of Mukiš and Nuḥašše between 2 groups of hostile forces on E. and W. (Hittites at Aleppo, Ugarit on coast).
		9. Ituraddu of Mukiš, Addunirari of Nuḥašše and Akit-Tešup of Niy therefore attack Niqmad II who seeks Suppiluliuma's support against them, <i>PRU</i> IV, IIA, 3.
		10. Meantime, Addunirari of Nuḥašše seeks help from Egypt, <i>EA</i> 51.
		11. About this time, Aziru (still barred from Šumur) requests troops from Egypt, in case of Hittite attack, <i>EA</i> 157: 11-12, 28-33.
		12. Sp. sends troops to help Niqmad II, <i>PRU</i> IV, IIA, 3.
		13. Sp. conquers Mukiš, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. Presumably its king, Ituraddu, flees?
		14. At Alalakh, capital of Mukiš, Suppiluliuma: (a) receives Niqmad II of Ugarit and settles affairs with him, <i>PRU</i> IV, IIA, 3; (b) receives Takuwa of Niy as ruler of Niy, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. (Takuwa, pro-Hittite, and Akit-Tešup, anti-Hittite, are evidently rival claimants for throne of Niy.) Akit-Tešup joins up with Akiya king of Araḫti and 6 <i>maryannu</i> , <i>PD</i> , No. 1.

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
		15. Sp. conquers Araḫti and captures its king Akiya, Akit-Tešup and the 6 <i>maryannu</i> (all deported to Hatti), <i>PD</i> , No. 1.
		16. About this time, Aziru is summoned to Egypt, but excuses himself to 'protect' Amurru while Sp. remains active in Nuḫašše, <i>EA</i> 164-167.
		17. Sp. despoils Qatna, <i>PD</i> , No. 1; <i>EA</i> 55. Meantime, Aziru apparently submits nominally to Sp. Hence Aziru raids Qatna; Akizzi its king complains to Egypt, <i>EA</i> 55.
		18. Sp. finally reduces Nuḫašše; appoints Takipšarri as king (capital, Ukulzat), captures and deports deceased Šarrupši's family, <i>PD</i> , No. 1. Addunirari flees? (not mentioned). Cf. also, <i>Deeds</i> , frag. 27.
		19. As Sp. goes S. to attack Abina, Šuttarna, pro-Eg./Mit. king of Qadesh, and his adult son Aitakama oppose him. Sp. conquers Qadesh, and captures and deports Šuttarna and Aitakama, <i>PD</i> , No. 1; cf. also <i>Deeds</i> , frag. 27.
		20. Sp. then conquers Abina, and captures and deports its king Ariwana and family, <i>PD</i> , No. 1.
		21. Suppiluliuma then returns home to Hatti, 'having overcome all these lands in one year', <i>PD</i> , No. 1.
1365	1351	<i>About year 13, Akhenaten.</i> Aitakama is now Hittite vassal in Qadesh, <i>EA</i> 149:30. Aziru regains Šumur for Amurru, <i>EA</i> 149:37-40, 67. Cf. also <i>EA</i> 116, 131-132, etc.; 138:34-35, retrosp.
		Aziru delays rebuilding of Šumur, because of alleged hostility of Nuḫašše, <i>EA</i> 159-161.

AN OUTLINE TABLE OF EVENTS FOR THE PERIOD

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
		<p>Aziru and Aitakama are now allies, <i>EA</i> 151:59-63. By this time, Aitakama is co-operating with Hittite troops, <i>EA</i> 53-54, 174-176a.</p> <p>Ribaddi fears that Hittite soldiers may be used against Byblos, <i>EA</i> 126:59-60.</p> <p>During this period Ribaddi complains of hostility from Aziru (<i>EA</i> 117-118, 121-126, 130, 133-134), and Abimilki likewise from Zimrida of Sidon (<i>EA</i> 151, 152, 154).</p> <p>Ribaddi goes to Beruta for 4 months (at least), <i>EA</i> 138:75-78. (Time of <i>EA</i> 139, 140, recounting earlier crimes of Aziru to the present?).</p>
1364	1350	<p><i>About year 14, Akhenaten.</i></p> <p>Ribaddi expelled from Byblos by his brother (a supporter of Aziru), and takes refuge with Ammunira of Beruta, <i>EA</i> 136-138, 142. Apparently then falls into Aziru's power and is handed over to hostile rulers of Sidon, <i>EA</i> 162.</p> <p>Akhenaten issues a final summons to Aziru to come to Egypt, <i>EA</i> 162. Aziru promises to come (<i>EA</i> 168), and eventually (?a little later) does so.</p> <p>The 'King's Daughter Meritaten' has replaced Nefertiti as first lady of Egypt by this time, <i>COA</i> 1, pp. 150-156. This year, the letter <i>EA</i> 10 from Burnaburiash III to Akhenaten, mentioning Meritaten ('Mayati') as 'thy daughter'.</p> <p>Abimilki of Tyre appeals in names of king and Meritaten; he and all his townsfolk are leaving, <i>EA</i> 155.</p>

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
1363	1349	<p><i>About year 15, Akhenaten.</i></p> <p>Accession (year 1) of co-regent Smenkhkarē and Meritaten his queen who reign 2 years (to 1361/1347). Akhenaten marries the next heiress, Ankhsenpaaten. Burnaburiash III again writes to Akhenaten, <i>EA</i> 11.</p> <p>Assur-uballit I of Assyria contacts Egypt, <i>EA</i> 15.</p> <p>Aziru of Amurru detained in Egypt. His son and brother (Ba'aluya) both request his speedy return: rumours are circulating, Nuḥašše is hostile, and Hittite forces under the general Lupakkis are active in N. Syria, <i>EA</i> 169, 170.</p> <p>Ba'aluya is in dispute with Niqmad II of Ugarit, <i>PRU</i> IV, 11C. Late this year or early next, Aziru returns to Amurru?</p>
1362	1348	<p><i>About year 16, Akhenaten</i> (2nd of Smenkhkarē).</p> <p>Aziru now back in Amurru; in dispute with Niqmad II of Ugarit, <i>PRU</i> IV, 11C.</p> <p>Assur-uballit I of Assyria is now in regular diplomatic relations with Egypt; references to 'king of Hanigalbat' (i.e. Mitanni), <i>EA</i> 16.</p>
1361	1347	<p><i>About year 17, Akhenaten</i> (3rd of Smenkhkarē).</p> <p>Aziru concludes agreement with Niqmad II, <i>PRU</i> IV, 11C.</p> <p>Suppiluliuma then makes Aziru a proper Hittite vassal by treaty, [<i>PD</i>, No. 4, cf. 5], <i>MDOG</i> 91, p. 75; <i>MIO</i> 7, 367/8. Thus Amurru with all its territories and alliances passes from nominal Egyptian to Hittite overlordship; on coast, 'from Byblos to Ugarit', <i>EA</i> 98.</p> <p>Deaths of Smenkhkarē and Akhenaten.</p> <p><i>Accession (year 1) of Tutankhaten</i>, at Amarna. Reigned 8 years (to 1353/1339).</p>

AN OUTLINE TABLE OF EVENTS FOR THE PERIOD

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
		[Burnaburiash III first writes to Tutankhaten, against Assyria's direct relations with Egypt.]
1360	1346	<i>About year 2, Tutankhaten.</i> Burnaburiash III has already raised the matter of Assyrian contact with Egypt, and mentions it once more, <i>EA</i> 9.
1359/8	1345/4	<i>About years 3 or 4 of Tutankhaten/amūn.</i> The king and court leave Amarna. End of Amarna archive.
1358 to 1354	1344 to 1340	<i>About years 4 to 8 of Tutankhamūn.</i> No historical details available for Syria. The Amarna letters are finished; <i>Deeds</i> of Sp. are too fragmentary; no Egyptian texts. Suppiluliuma is active in Anatolia, <i>Deeds</i> , frag. 28.
1353	1339	<i>About year 9, Tutankhamūn.</i> Hittite forces under prince Telipinus subdue lands of Arziya and Carchemish and base themselves on Murmuriga, but city of Carchemish holds out. Telipinus goes to join Suppiluliuma at Hattusas, <i>Deeds</i> , frag. 28, <i>JCS</i> 10, p. 92. Hurrian (= Mitannian) troops besiege the Hittite forces at Murmuriga. Egyptian forces attack Qadesh, <i>Deeds</i> , 28; <i>JCS</i> 10, p. 93. <i>The 'Second' Syrian War</i> begins, and lasts 6 years, <i>KUB</i> xix, 9. Suppiluliuma sends troops to relieve Murmuriga. Sp. reaches, and begins siege of, Carchemish; sends forces under Lupakkis etc. to Amki, to relieve Qadesh and to repulse Egyptians, <i>Deeds</i> , 28; <i>ibid.</i> , pp. 93-94. Cf. plague-prayers of Mursil II, <i>ANET</i> , p. 395.

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

About B.C.		Events
High	Low	
		<p>Meantime, Tutankhamūn dies; eventually succeeded by Ay (year 1) who reigns 3 years (to 1350/1336). Tutankhamūn's queen (<i>Daḥamunzu</i>, <i>t3 hm(t) nsw</i>, 'royal wife', <i>JCS</i> 14, p. 33) asks Sp. for a son to make him king of Egypt. Sp. sends envoy to investigate, captures Carchemish, installs there his son Šarrikušuh/Piyassilis as king, and returns home for winter, <i>Deeds</i>, 28; <i>ibid.</i>, pp. 94–96.</p> <p>In spring, envoys bring a further plea from the Egyptian queen, <i>Deeds</i>, 28; <i>ibid.</i>, pp. 96–98. Sp. agrees and sends son Zannanza to Egypt, <i>Deeds</i>, frags. 29–30; <i>ibid.</i>, p. 107. [Meantime, Ay gains the Egyptian throne.]</p> <p>Zannanza is murdered by the Egyptians (plague-prayers, <i>ANET</i>, p. 395) and the news brought to Sp., <i>Deeds</i>, frags. 31–32; <i>ibid.</i>, pp. 107–108, – presumably while he is campaigning in Anatolia, <i>Deeds</i>, frags. 33–34; <i>ibid.</i>, pp. 108–110.</p>
1352	1338	<p><i>About year 2, Ay (2nd year of '2nd' Syrian War).</i></p> <p>In meantime, Tušratta of Mitanni is murdered; Artatama II and his son Šuttarna III plunder in Mitanni, while Assyria and Alše take over the land. Mattiwaza, son of Tušratta, flees to Sp. at Maras-santiyas (Halys) river, <i>PD</i>, Nos. 1 and 2. Sp. decides to instal Mattiwaza as king of Mitanni and as son-in-law; hence treaty, <i>PD</i>, No. 1.</p> <p>Sp. then sends Mattiwaza with Šarrikušuh of Carchemish and an army to reconquer Mitanni from Šuttarna III, his Assyrian-sponsored rival. Irrite, Harran, Wašukanni and Taite(?) are taken. Mattiwaza thus established within Mitanni, and treaty <i>PD</i>, No. 2 (plus <i>AfO</i> 2, pp. 119–124) drawn up. Cf. also <i>Deeds</i>, frag. 35; <i>ibid.</i>, pp. 110–111, 121.</p>

AN OUTLINE TABLE OF EVENTS FOR THE PERIOD

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
		In meantime, Sp. sends Arnuwandas with forces against Egypt, defeats Egyptian troops, and takes many prisoners. A plague afflicts these, spreads to their captors and is carried into Hatti (persisting there until Mursil II's reign), <i>Deeds</i> , frag. 36; <i>ibid.</i> , p. 111; plague-prayers, <i>ANET</i> , p. 395.
1351 ff.	1337 ff.	<i>About year 3, Ay to year 3, Haremhab</i> (years 3 to 6 of 'Second' Syrian War). These 4 years include:
1350	1336	(a) Year 4, Ay dies; accession (year 1) of Haremhab.
1351 to 1348	1337 to 1334	(b) During these 4 years, a protracted struggle for control of the puppet-state of Mitanni between Suppiluliuma with Mattiwaza and Assur-uballit I with Šuttarna III. Sp.'s efforts are hampered by new revolts in Anatolia, begun in Išḫupitta, <i>Deeds</i> , frags. 37-43 (pp. 112-115) and perhaps 44-51 (pp. 115-119); <i>KUB</i> XIX, 9.
		About this time (Sp. heavily-committed in Mitanni and Anatolia), revolt by (?Takipšarri of) Nuḫašše, joined by Qadesh but not Amurru, <i>PD</i> , No. 5. Sp. quells these revolts and installs Tette as king of Nuḫašše, <i>PD</i> , No. 3.
1348	1334	At end of 6th campaign of this War, Suppiluliuma dies. Accession of Arnuwandas II (?that winter).
1347	1333	Arnuwandas II (year 1) campaigns in Anatolia (in spring?) against Išḫupitta, but falls ill and dies, <i>KUB</i> XIX, 8, 1. Accession of Mursil II.
1346	1332	First full year of Mursil II, who begins 10 years' regular campaigning, Götze, <i>Annalen d. Muršiliš</i> .
1340	1326	<i>7th year of Mursil II.</i> First revolt of Nuḫašše; Egyptian forces are reported to be coming North, but do not appear, Götze,

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

<i>About B.C.</i>		<i>Events</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
		<i>Ann. d. M.</i> Šarrikušuḥ of Carchemish requests help from Niqmad II of Ugarit against Tette of Nuḥašše, PRU IV, 11B. About now(?), Niqmad II succeeded by Arḫalbu.
1338	1324	<i>9th year of Mursil II.</i> Šarrikušuḥ of Carchemish dies; Mursil II appoints his son, [. . .]šarruma, in his place. Second revolt of Nuḥašše, joined by Qadesh. Revolt is suppressed; Aitakama murdered by his own son Niqmad(?) (NIG.BA ⁴ U- <i>aš</i>), later installed in Qadesh by Mursil II. Mursil II goes to protect Carchemish from Assyrian attack, sending generals to handle Anatolian revolts, <i>Ann. d. M.</i> About now(?), Mursil II replaces Arḫalbu by Niqmepa in Ugarit.
1338/7	1324/3	<i>9th/10th years of Mursil II.</i> Trouble with the dowager-queen Tawananna; omens (Forrer's 'eclipse') and proceedings against her, Forrer, <i>Forsch.</i> 11: 1.
1337	1323	<i>10th year of Mursil II.</i> Deals effectually with Azzi-Hayasa, <i>Ann. d. M.</i>
1322	1308	<i>Death of Mursil II</i> , after reign of roughly 25 years (not less than 22 years); cf. <i>MIO</i> 3 (1955), pp. 157-161. Accession of Muwatallis who reigned until between years 5 and 14 of Ramesses II (1300-1291/1286-1277).
1319/8	1305/4	<i>Ramesses I</i> , 1 year, founder of Dyn. 19.
1318 to 1304	1304 to 1290	<i>Sethos I</i> , given 14 years here (but highest-known is 11th, ZÄS 69, p. 76). Wars in Syria; treaty with Hatti.
1304	1290	<i>Accession of Ramesses II</i> (year 1; reigned 66 years).

EXCURSUS I

KBo VI, 28, obv. 6-25 and Suppiluliuma's Reign

LIKE *KUB* XIX, 9, this decree dates from the reign of Hattusil III. A rendering is included here for convenience. For obv. 6-15, 16, see A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 21-22, 23-24; and for obv. 16-25, F. Bilabel in Bilabel and Grohmann, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens, 16-11. Jahrhundert*, 1927, pp. 307-308.

'Formerly, the Hatti-lands were utterly ravaged by foes from outside . . . ("yon side . . ."). The Gasgean foe came and sacked the Hatti-lands and set his boundary at (the city) Nenassa. From beyond,¹ toward the Lower-land, the Arzawan foe came and also sacked the Hatti-lands and set his boundary at (the cities of) Tuwanuwa and Udanna. From beyond, the Arwannean foe came and sacked all of the land Gassiya. From beyond, the Azzian foe came and sacked all the Upper-[land]s and set his boundary at Samuha. The Isuwan [foe] came [and] sacked the [land] Tegarama. From beyond, the Armatanean foe came and also sacked the Hatti-lands, and s[et his boundary] at Kizzuwatna, the city. [Hatt]usas the city was burnt down, and [. . .] the *hesti*-house escaped.

But when my grandfather Su[ppiluliuma the Great] King, the Hero, became of age(?),² he ascen[ded] the throne of kingship. [And] he [exp]elled [the foes] from the Hatti-lands and restored [to order(?)] the Hatti-land and rese[ttled the Hatti-land]. [And] he went forth and [vanquished all] the Hurri-lands, he took [the land of (the city) Aleppo (and) the land of (the cit[y]) Carchemish, [and] installed [Piyassilis as ki]ng [in the land of] (the city) Carchemish. [Thereupon] he [in]stalled [T]elip[inus as king in the land of (the cit[y]) Aleppo. Then he went onward. [In the land of] Nuḫaš[še, he installed Tette as king]. And he made [for himself] as boundary [the land of] Amurru. Now for him (? Aziru, so Bilabel), the land of Amurru . . . lands, he did make. . . . the Amurru-lands . . . he installed; and he caused the city Hattusas(?) to be inhabited again.'

The above text confirms the pattern of events given in *KUB* XIX, 9, in the *Deeds of Suppiluliuma* issued by Mursil II, and in Suppiluliuma's own treaty-preambles. With the Gasgeans, Arzawa, Arwanna, Azzi

1. See Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, 1940, 23.

2. Goetze, *op. cit.*, 23-24.

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOHS

(= Hayasa), Isuwa and Armatana listed here in *KBo* VI, 28, one may well compare from the *Deeds*, fragments 10-25¹ the names of the foes resisted so desperately by Tudkhalia III and his son: Hayasa (= Azzi), Gasgeans, Arzawa, Armatana and Isuwa. That this dangerous situation came about under Tudkhalia III is evident not only from the damaged accounts in the *Deeds* of his and Suppiluliuma's efforts to cope with it, but also from the fact that *KBo* VI, 28 introduces Suppiluliuma's accession *after* mention of these misfortunes.² The next brief sentence in *KBo* VI, 28 then epitomizes Suppiluliuma's 20-year struggle (*KUB* XIX, 9) to free Hatti of Anatolian troubles. Then follows a generalized account of Suppiluliuma's Syrian campaigning against Hurri (i.e. Mitanni), including incidents in the 'Second' Syrian War (e.g. Piyassilis installed in Carchemish), and some very damaged and therefore obscure references to Amurru, perhaps relating to the incorporation of Amurru under Aziru into Suppiluliuma's vassal system after his alliance with Niqmad II of Ugarit,³ and to subsequent events involving Amurru of which no clear record has so far been recovered.

EXCURSUS II

Synopsis of Hittite Offering-lists for the Royal Ancestors

To save space, the eight lists used (A-G, and *KUB* xxv) have been dovetailed first into three, then into four, columns. The line-numbering corresponds to that of Otten's transcriptions in *MDOG* 83 (1951), pp. 62-70. A superlinear ^f is here added to all feminine names, all of these being queens except perhaps the second Walanni (lists D, E obv. III, E rev. V, F) and the broken name ^fLu? [. . .] (list C), probably princesses. For comparison, a list of Hittite kings as known from various sources is included in the left-hand column. It is hoped that non-cuneiformists will find this synopsis of some service in using the lists for historical purposes.

1. *JCS* 10 (1956), 62-68, 75-84.

2. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, 24-25, for another possible hint of this date.

3. *PRU* IV, 283; cf. also *PD*, No. 5, obv. lines 2-3, pp. 76-77.

EXCURSUS II

<i>Kings of Hatti</i>	<i>List A</i>	<i>List B</i>	<i>List C</i>
	<i>obverse I</i>		<i>obverse</i>
Tudkhalia I			1-2. [Man's name] 3-5. (Ritual details) 6-16. [About 6 names lost; last one, Tudkhalia I?] 17-18. Kantuzzilis (king's son?) 19-21. Pušarruma, son of Tudkha[lia I, fath]er of Pawa- h̄tilmah and L[abarnas I]
Pušarruma			
Pawaḥtilmah, a usurper			
Labarnas I			
Labarnas II (= Hattusil I)	2. [Laba]rnas II	3. ṣTawana[nna] 4. Labarn[as II]	
Mursil I	3. ṣKaddusi 4. Mursil I 5. ṣKali	5. ṣKaddusi 6. Mursil I	
(Pimpira)	6. Pimpira 7-8. Huzziyas, man of Hakmis	7-8. Pimpir[a . . .] man of Ha[kmis]	22-23. Pimpira
Hantilis I	9. Hantilis I 10. ṣHarapsekis	(gap in text)	
Zidantas I Ammunas	11. Ammunas 12. ṣ[. .]tawanna		24-25. Ammunas and
Huzziyas I		10'. [Huzziyas I] 11'. ṣ[his queen] 12'. T[elipinus] 13'. ṣI[stapariyas] 14'. Al[luwamnas] 15'. ṣHar[apsilis] 16'. Ha[ntilis II]	[Huz]z[iyas I] 26-27. [Telipinus] 28-29. Alluw[amnas]
Telipinus	<i>List E</i> <i>obverse II</i>		
Alluwamnas	1-2. Alluwamnas 3-4. ṣHarapsilis 5-6. Hantilis II		
Hantilis II			<i>reverse</i> 1. Ammunas the Younger (a prince) 2. Zidantas II and 2-3. [Huzziyas II?]
Zidantas II	7-8. Zidantas II 9-10. ṣIyayas	18'. Zi[dantas II]	
Huzziyas II	11-12. Huzziyas II 13-14. ṣSummiris	<i>KUB XXV:</i> <i>MDOG 83, 57</i> ṣWalan[ni]	

SUPPILULIUMA AND THE AMARNA PHARAOKS

<i>Kings of Hatti (contd)</i>	<i>List E (contd)</i>	<i>KUB XXV: (contd)</i>	<i>List C (contd)</i>
	<i>obverse II</i>		<i>reverse</i>
Tudkhalia II	15-16. Tudkhalia II	fNik[almati]	
Arnuwandas I	17-18. f[N]igalmati 19-20. [Arnuw]an- das I 21-22. f[Ašmuniga]l		4. Arnuwandas I fAšm[unikal] 6-7. Ašmišarruma, son of Arnuwandas I 6-7. Manninis
Hattusil II		fAšm[unikal]	

<i>Kings of Hatti (contd)</i>	<i>List F</i>	<i>KUB XXV (contd)</i>	<i>List E (contd)</i>	<i>List E, bis</i>
	<i>obverse I</i>		<i>obverse III</i>	<i>reverse IV</i>
Tudkhalia III Suppiluliuma	1. [Name lost] 2. Summeris 3-4. Zidanza son of Hassuilis 5. Telipinus		(8. Zidanza, below) 1-2. [T]el[ipinus]	6-7. Hantilikas
	6-7. Piyassilis, kg. of Car- chemish		3-5. Ša[rrikušuh], kg. of [Carch]emish	<i>E, bis: rev. V</i> (15. [Tel]ipinus the priest, below) (16. [Šarr]ikušuh, kg. of Car- chemish, below)
	8. fD[adu]hepa	fDud[uhepa]	<i>List C (contd.)</i> 8. fDaduhepa Lulu [...]	<i>List G</i> 2. fDa[duhepa] 3. Lul[u...] 4-5. Arn[uwandas (II), son of Suppi]luliuma
		fHenti	9. fHinti [Man]ninnis [.....] 10. Su[...]	
		<i>List D</i> 2-3. [.....]		

EXCURSUS II

<i>Kings of Hatti (contd)</i>	<i>List F (contd)</i>	<i>List D (contd)</i>	<i>List E (contd)</i>	<i>List E, bis</i>
	<i>obverse I (contd)</i> 9. K[antuzzilis]	4-5. Kant[uzzilis]	<i>E: obv. III (contd)</i>	<i>rev. V (contd)</i> 11. [Kantu]zzilis
	10. ^f W[alan]ni 11. Son of city of Z[ippalanda] 12. Son of city of Ankuwa	6-7. ^f Wal[anni] <i>KUB XXV, (contd)</i> ^f Taw[ananna]	6-7. ^f Walanni	12. ^f [Wal]anni
		 <i>List D (contd)</i> 8-10. Taki- šar[uma] 11-12. Ašmušar- r[uma]	 <i>List C (contd)</i> 10. ^f Tawan[anna] 11. ^f Lu [. . .] Karaḥnuilis 12. Hu [. . .]	13. [Takiš]arruma 14. [Ašmuš]ar- ruma 15. [Tel]ipinus, the priest (cf. above) 16. [Šarr]ikušuḫ, kg. of Car- chemish (cf. above)
	<i>E: obv. III (contd)</i> 8-9. Zidanza, cf. above 10-11. Muwat[a]l- lis (= the elder) 12-13. Ammunas 14. 'Total, 44 kings' (<i>sic</i>)		13. [Supp]ilu- liuma 14. [Mursi]l II 15. Muwatallis (NIR.GÁL)	
(Suppiluliuma) Arnuwandas II Mursil II Muwatallis Mursil III (Urḫi-Tešup) Hattusil III			16. [?Name lost]	

INDEX

OF ANCIENT PROPER NAMES

Abbreviations: kg = king; mg = margin; n.f. = woman's name; n.l. = place-name; n.m. = man's name; qu = queen. 'Table' precedes the references in the Outline Table of Events, and 'Lists' likewise the references in the Offering-lists (Excursus II); letters in brackets denote list(s) concerned.

- Abdi-aširta (kg of Amurru), 12; Table, 40-42; inspires *coup* in Tyre but is killed, 21, 27-28, 32; submits to Suppiluliuma?, 20, 26-27, 32; takes Šumur, Irqata, etc., 21, 26, 27, 29, 32
- Abimilki (kg of Tyre), 9, 12, 14, 17, 31; Table, 42, 45; invokes Mayati/Meritaten, 19-20, 30; order and date of letters, 29-31; supplants pro-Amurrite usurper, 21, 28
- Abina (n.l.), Table, 44
- Addunirari (kg of Nuḥašše), 28 n.6; Table, 42-44
- Aduna (kg of Irqata), murdered, 21
- Ahaz (kg of Israel), 26 n.1
- Aitakama (kg of Qadesh), 12, 21, 28, 29, 30; Table, 44, 50; allied with Aziru of Amurru, 17, 30, 31; brief defection to Egypt in 'Second' Syrian War?, 18 n.5 end; career and reign, 13-16; loyal to Mursil II (year 7), 15 n.2; rebels against Mursil II (year 9) and murdered, 15, 37; subject-ally of Hatti, 13-16, 19, 31; urges Akizzi to join Hatti, 16
- Akhenaten or Amenophis IV (kg of Egypt), 4, 22, 34; Table, 39, 40-42, 44-46; continues Mitannian alliance, 13; co-regency with Amenophis, III 6-8, 38; co-regency with Smenkhkarē, 8-9, 20; date in his reign of campaigns of Suppiluliuma and Tušratta, 32; date in his reign of events in Phoenicia and Syria in 14th to 17th years, 31-33; date in his reign of 'First' Syrian War, 23, 24, 30-31; date in his reign of letters from Abimilki of Tyre, 30-31; date in his reign of letters from Babylon, 11-12; date in his reign of marriage with Ankhšenpaaten, 11; death, 32-33; length of reign, 6 and n.2; letter from Suppiluliuma, 22; marriage alliance with Ugarit, 34, 35; occupies Amarna 10; replaces Nefertiti by Meritaten, 8, 11, 20
- Akit-Tešup (kg of Niy), Table, 43, 44
- Akiya (kg of Araḫti), Table, 43, 44
- Akizzi (kg of Qatna), 12; Table, 44; despoiled by Hittites and Aziru ('First' Syrian War), 16; reports Hittites with Aitakama in Syria, 16, 19, 29; writes to Akhenaten not Amenophis III, 16 and n.5
- Alalakh (n.l.), 37 n.4; Table, 43; cf. Mukiš
- Aleppo (n.l.), appointment of Telepinus as king of, 2, 3, 4; Table, 42, 51
- Alluwamnas (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (E, B, C)
- Alše (n.l.), Table, 42, 48
- Amarna (n.l.), 8-10, 20, 36; Table, 40, 46; abandoned by court, 9, 33; later documents at, 33 n.1; occupied in Akhenaten's 5th year, 10 and n.2, 24; time-span of Amarna letters, 10, 24
- Amenophis II (kg of Egypt), 'born at Memphis', 7 n.2 end
- Amenophis III (kg of Egypt), 5, 32; Table, 39-41; contacts with Ugarit, 35, 36; continued Mitannian alliance, 13; co-regency with Akhenaten, 6-8, 38; date of marriage with Taduhepa, 24-25, 33; early relations with Suppiluliuma, 22; length of reign, 6; letters from Babylon, 10-11; quelled Abdi-aširta of Amurru, 20, 26; receives Hittite booty from Tušratta, 24; Ribaddi of Byblos his contemporary, 20; Tušratta his contemporary, 33
- Amenophis IV (kg of Egypt), see Akhenaten
- Amki (n.l.), Table, 47; cities of, sacked by Aitakama, 14; cities of, taken by Hittites, 18

INDEX

- Amm/bi (n.l.) Table, 41; taken by Abdi-aširta's supporters, 21, 26, 29
- Ammistamru I (kg of Ugarit), 18 n.2; Table, 40; writes to Egypt about Hittite pressure, 34-35; end of reign, 35
- Ammistamru II (kg of Ugarit), contemporary of Ramesses II, Hattusil III and Tudkhalia IV, 37
- Ammunas (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (A, C)
- Ammunas (n.m.), Lists, 55 (E)
- Ammunas the Younger (prince), Lists, 53 (C)
- Ammunira (kg of Beruta), 29; Table, 45
- Amūn (god), 8, 9
- Amurru (n.l.), 3, 4, 12, 17-21 *passim*, 26-29 *passim*, 32, 35; Table, 40-42, 44, 46, 49; 51, 52
- *A(na)hururiya (= Smenkhkarē, kg of Egypt), 20
- Anatolia, 37; Table, 47, 48, 49
- ‘Ankhkheperurē (kg of Egypt), 20; see Smenkhkarē
- Ankhsenpaaten (qu), married her father Akhenaten, 11; Table, 46
- Ankhsenpaaten the Younger (princess), 12 n.1
- Ankuwa (n.l.), Lists, 55 (F)
- Antaratli (kg of Alše), Table, 42
- Araḥti (n.l.), Table, 43, 44
- Ardata (n.l.), Table, 41; captured by Abdi-aširta's supporters, 21, 26, 29; recovered by Ribaddi then lost to Aziru, 28
- Arḥalbu (kg of Ugarit), Table, 50; pro-Egyptian, 36; replaced by Niqmepa, 36-37
- Ari-Tešup (kg of Qadesh), see NIG. BA-^aU-aš, 37 n.3
- Ariwana (kg of Abina), Table, 44
- Armatana, -eans, 51, 52
- Arnuandas I (kg of Hatti), Lists, 54 (E, C)
- Arnuandas II (kg of Hatti), Table, 49; Lists, 54 (G), 55 mg; crown prince, 2; reign, 1, 16 n.3, 33 n.2
- Artaššumara (kg (?) of Mitanni), 25; Table, 39
- Artatama II ('kg of Hurri'), Table, 41, 48; claimant for Mitannian throne?, 25; joins forces with Suppiluliuma, 25, 32; opposes Mattiwaza and Hittites, 4; cf. also Šuttarna III
- Arvadites, hostile to Tyre, 30
- Arwanna, -eans, 51
- Arzawa(n) (n.l.), 51, 52
- Arziya (n.l.), Table, 47
- Ascalon (n.l.), 22
- Ašmišarruma (n.m.), Lists, 54 (C)
- Ašmunik/gal (qu), Lists, 54 (E; KUB XXV; C)
- Ašmušarruma (n.m.), Lists, 55 (D; E bis)
- Assur-uballit I (kg of Assyria), Table, 46, 49; letters to Egypt, 12; opposes Hittites in Mitanni, 4
- Assyria (n.l.), 4, 12, 18 n.5; Table, 46, 47, 48
- Aten (god), 9; early name of at Ugarit, 36
- Athribis (n.l.), block of Amenophis IV and III, 8
- Ay (kg of Egypt), 5, 33; Table, 48-49; length of reign, 9
- Aziru (kg of Amurru), 12, 17, 26, 28, 29-31; Table, 42-46; 51, 52; barred from Šumur, 17, 28; becomes vassal of Suppiluliuma by treaty, 18 and n.5, 29, 32 (date), 52; captures Šumur, 17, 28, 29, 31; helps to quell Syrian revolt in 'Second' Syrian War, 18 n.5 end; helps to seize Irqata, etc., for Abdi-aširta, 21 n.1, 29; is ally of Aitakama, 17, 29, 30, 31; keeps away from Egypt during 'First' Syrian War, 17, 28; return to Amurru and dispute with Ugarit, 18, 29, 32 (date); seizes citizens of Qatna, 17, 18 n.5; visits Egypt, 17-18, 18 n.5, 29, 32 (date)
- Azzi/Hayasa (n.l.), 5 n.1; Table, 50; 51, 52
- Ba'aluya (n.m.), regent in Amurru for Aziru in Egypt, 18; Table, 46
- Babylon (n.l.), 1, 8 n.3, 34 n.2; Table, 39, 40
- Batti-ḥilu (n.m.), writes to Aziru in Egypt, 18
- Beruna (n.l.), 27
- Beruta (n.l.), Table, 45; left by its ruler, 30; Ribaddi flees to, 29; visited by Ribaddi 29, 31
- Biryawaza (n.m.), 17 and n.3
- Bit-Arq/ḥa (n.l.), 27
- Burnaburiash III (kg of Babylon), 10-12; Table, 40, 45-47

INDEX

- Byblos (n.l.), 12, 17, 20, 26; Table, 40, 41, 45; comes into Hittite sphere, 19, 29, 32; falls to Aziru, 30, 31, 32; not reached by Mitanni, 13, 27; Ribaddi expelled from, 29
- Carchemish (n.l.), Table, 47, 48, 50; Lists, 54, 55 (F, E, E bis); siege and capture by Suppiluliuma, 2, 3, 15; in broken context, 16 n.7 end; its king dies, 37; its king ordered to crush Nuḥašše revolt, 37; Piyašsilis made king, 3, 4, 51, 52
- Daduhepa (first qu of Suppiluliuma), 1, 2 and n.2, 5; Lists, 54 (F; *KUB XXV*; C G)
- Daḥamunzu, Egyptian queen's title in cuneiform, 22 n.2; Table, 48
- Djeḥutinakht (n.m.), 6 n.4
- Duduhepa (qu), see Daduhepa
- El-Hawaṭeh (n.l.), 8
- Ešazi (n.l.), ruler appeals to Egypt, 14
- Euphrates (river), Table, 41, 42; crossed by forces of Suppiluliuma and Tušratta, 25, 26, 27; identical with Mala river, 3 and n.3
- Gasga, -eans, 22 n.1, 51, 52
- Gassiya (n.l.), 51
- Gezer (n.l.), 22
- Giluhepa (princess), 24; Table, 39, 40
- Hakmis (n.l.), Lists, 53 (A, B)
- Halys (river), Table, 48
- Hanigalbat (n.l.), Table, 46
- Hantilikas (n.m.), Lists, 54 (E bis)
- Hantilis I (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (A)
- Hantilis II (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (E, B)
- Harapsekis (qu), Lists, 53 (A)
- Harapsilis (qu), Lists, 53 (E, B)
- Haremhab (kg of Egypt), 5; Table, 49; length of reign, 9-10; name at Amarna, 33 n.1; relations with Ugarit, 36, 37
- Hare Nome (n.l.), 6 n.4
- Harran (n.l.), Table, 48
- Hašabu (n.l.), ruler appeals to Egypt, 14
- Hassuilis (n.m.), Lists, 54 (F)
- Hatnub (n.l.), 6 n.4
- Hattusas (n.l.), Table, 47; 51
- Hattusil I (kg of Hatti), 3 n.3; Lists, 53mg (A, B, as Labarnas II)
- Hattusil II (kg of Hatti), 1 n.2; Lists, 54mg.
- Hattusil III (kg of Hatti), 3, 37 n.6, 51; Lists, 55mg.
- Hayasa (= Azzi; n.l.), 52
- Hazi (n.l.), ruler appeals to Egypt, 14
- Henti (second qu of Suppiluliuma), 1, 2, 5; Lists, 54 (*KUB XXV*; E)
- Hepat (goddess), 5 n.1
- Hinti (qu), see Henti
- Hu . . . (n.m.), Lists, 55 (C)
- Ḥuria, see <Nap>ḥuria
- Hurri (n.l.), 3, 4, 25, 32, 51, 52; see also Mitanni
- Huzziyas (n.m.), Lists, 53 (A, [B])
- Huzziyas I (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (B, C)
- Huzziyas II (kg of Hatti), 1 n.2; Lists, 53 (E, ?C)
- Iilirapiḥ (n.m.), 21 n.1, 29
- Irqata (n.l.), taken by Abdi-aširta, 21, 26, 29; Table, 41
- Irrite (n.l.), 3, 4; Table, 48
- Ishtar of Nineveh (goddess), Table, 39, 40
- Išḫupitta (n.l.), 3, 4, 18 n.5; Table, 49
- Israel (n.l.), 26 n.1
- Istapariyas (qu), Lists, 53 (B)
- Isuwa (n.l.), 2, 26, 31; Table, 39, 42; 51, 52
- Ituraddu (kg of Mukiš), Table, 43
- Iyayas (qu), Lists, 53 (E)
- Jerusalem (n.l.), 22
- Kadashman-Enlil I (kg of Babylon), 10 and n.5, 34 n.2; Table, 39
- Kadashman-Harbe I (kg of Babylon), 10 n.5
- Kaddusi (qu), Lists, 53 (A, B)
- 'Kahun' papyri, 10 n.2
- Kali (qu), Lists, 53 (A)
- Kantuzilis (n.m.), 37
- Kantuzzilis (n.m.), two individuals in Lists, 53 (C), 55 (F, D, E bis)
- Karaḥnuilis (n.m.), Lists, 55 (C)
- Karaindash (kg of Babylon), 10; Table, 39
- Kizzuwatna (n.l.), 1, 2, 5 n.1, 37, 51

INDEX

- Kummanni (n.l.), 5 n.1
 Kurigalzu I (kg of Babylon), 10 and n.5;
 Table, 39
 Kurtiwaza (kg of Mitanni), true reading
 of 'Mattiwaza'?, 4 n.4
 Kuruštama, 22 n.1
 Kutmar (n.l.), Table, 42
- Labarnas I (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (C)
 Labarnas II (= Hattusil I; kg of Hatti),
 Lists, 53 (A, B)
 Lachish (n.l.), 22
 Lebanon (n.l.), limit of Suppiluliuma's
 conquests (second foray), 25, 27; Table,
 41
 Lower-land (n.l.), 51
 Lu ? . . . (n.f.), 52; Lists, 55 (C)
 Lulu . . . (n.m.), Lists, 54 (C, G)
 Lupakkis, Lupakku (Hittite general), 18
 and n.1, 32; Table, 46, 47
- Mala river (= Euphrates), 3 and n.3
 Malnigal (qu), Hittite hieroglyphic name
 of Tawananna?, 1 n.3
 Malqata (n.l.), 6
 Mannin(n)is (nn.m.), Lists, 54 (C), 54 (C)
 Marassantiyas river (Halys), Table, 48
 Maru-Aten (n.l.), 8
 Mattiwaza (kg of Mitanni), 4 and n.4;
 Table, 48, 49
 Mayati (qu), see Meritaten
 Medum graffito, 6 n.4
 Meketaten (princess), 7 n.2
 Memphis (n.l.), 7 n.2, 9, 33
 Menna (n.m.), 34 n.3
 Meritaten (qu), Table, 45, 46; is Mayati in
 cuneiform, 11, 12, 19-20, 30; replaces
 Nefertiti, 8-9, 11, 20
Milim, see *mišē*
Miše, Egyptian seaborne forces, 28 and
 n.1
 Mitanni (n.l.), 2, 3 n.5, 4, 12, 13, 15, 20,
 24-27 *passim*, 28 (dues from Egypt as
 ally); Table, 39, 40, 46, 47-49; 52; see
 also Hurri
 Mukiš (n.l.), 2, 37 n.4; Table, 42, 43; cf.
 Alalakh
 Murmuriga (n.l.), Table, 47
 Mursil I (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (A, B)
 Mursil II (kg of Hatti), Table, 47, 49-50; 51;
 Lists, 55 (C); and Queen Tawananna, 1,
 5, 33; difficulties in Syria, 15, 36-37;
 length of reign, 50; supposed 'eclipse',
 5 n.1 end
 Mursil III or Urhi-Tešup (kg of Hatti),
 Lists, 55 mg
 Muwatallis (kg of Hatti), Table, 50; Lists
 55 (C)
 Muwatallis the Elder (n.m.), Lists, 55 (E)
- Naharin-letter, its date, 7 n.1
 Namhuria (kg of Egypt), cuneiform for
 Akhenaten, 16 n.5; cf. <Nap>huria
 Nammuria, to be read as Namhuria, *q.v.*
 'Namyawaza' (n.m.), see Biryawaza
 <Nap>huria (kg of Egypt), cuneiform for
 Akhenaten, 16 n.5, 22
 Nebamūn (n.m.), 34 n.3
 Nefertiti (qu), Table, 45; name at Ugarit,
 36; replaced by Meritaten, 8-9, 11, 20
 Nenassa (n.l.), 51
 Nibhūriya (kg of Egypt), cuneiform for
 Tutankhamūn (*q.v.*), 12, 22 and n.3
 Nigalmati, see Nikkalmati
 NIG.BA-^aU-^aš (kg of Qadesh), Table, 50;
 reading of name, 37 and n.3
 Nikalmati, see Nikkalmati
 Nikkalmati (qu), 1 n.2; Lists, 54 (E);
KUB XXV
 Nimmuria (kg of Egypt), cuneiform for
 Amenophis III, 36
 Nineveh (n.l.), Table, 39, 40
 Nippur (n.l.), 10 n.5
 Niqmad II (kg of Ugarit), 2; Table, 40, 42,
 43, 46, 50; 52; length of reign, 35 n.1;
 relations with Amurru, 18; relations with
 Egypt, 34-35, 36; relations with Hatti,
 36
 Niqmad (kg of . . .), perhaps Niqmad (?)
 kg of Qadesh?, 37 n.4
 Niqmad (?) (kg of Qadesh), reading, 37;
 Table, 50
 Niq-ma-^dAddu (kg of Qadesh), 37 n.3
 *Niqmaddaš (kg of Qadesh), 37 n.3
 Niqme-, names with, 37 n.4
 Niqmepa (kg (?) of Amurru), 18 n.2
 Niqmepa (kg of Ugarit), 36, 37; Table, 50
 NIR.GÁL (kg of Hatti), i.e. Muwatallis,
 Lists, 55 (C)
 Niy (n.l.), 14 n.4; Table, 43

INDEX

- Nmry (kg of Egypt), for Nimmuria (Amenophis III) on tablet from Ugarit, 36
- Nuḥašše (n.l.), Table, 41, 42-44, 49, 50; 51; before 'First' Syrian War, 13, 24-27 *passim*; 'First' Syrian War, 2, 16, 17; hostile to Aziru, 17, 28-29; restless against Hittite rule, 18 n.5, 28-29; revolt in yr. 7 of Mursil II, 15 n.2, 36-37; revolt in yr. 9 of Mursil II, 37; 'Second' Syrian War, 4
- Orontes, river, 35
- Paḥuru (n.m.), 14 n.3
- Palaetyrus (n.l.), or Uzu, 30
- Pawaḥtilmaḥ (n.m.), Lists, 53 (C)
- Pere (n.m.), 8
- Phoenicia (n.l.), 17, 31, 32
- Pimpira (n.m.), Lists, 53 (A, B, C)
- Piyassilis (kg of Carchemish), 3, 4; Table, 48; 51, 52; Lists, 54 (F); see also Šarrikuṣuḥ
- Puṣarruma (kg (?) of Hatti), Lists, 53 (C)
- Qadesh (n.l.), 12, 17, 21, 28-31 *passim*; Table, 44, 47, 49, 50; history of in Amarna period, 2, 3, 4, 13-16, 18 n.5 end, 37
- Qatna (n.l.), 12, 16, 17, 19, 29; Table, 44
- Ramesses I (kg of Egypt), Table, 50
- Ramesses II (kg of Egypt), Table, 50; possible dates, 38; scarab at Amarna, 33 n.1; vases at Ugarit, 37
- Ramesses III (kg of Egypt), slab at Amarna, 33 n.1
- Ramesside reckoning of 18th dynasty kings, 9 n.7, 10 n.1
- Ramose (n.m.), 8 n.1
- Rē' (god), 6 n.4
- Ribaddi (kg of Byblos), 12, 17; Table, 40-42, 45; career, 20-21, 26-29, 30 n.4, 31, 32; contemporary of Amenophis III, 20; fate of, 17 n.4; loses Byblos, 17 n.4, 29, 30 n.4
- Samuha (n.l.), 51
- Šarrikuṣuḥ (kg of Carchemish; = Piyassilis, *q.v.*), 4, 37; Table, 48, 50; Lists, 54 (E), 55 (E bis)
- ... šarruma (kg of Carchemish), Table, 50
- Šarrupši (kg of Nuḥašše), Table, 41, 42, 44; attacked by Tušratta, 13, 26, 27, 31; relations with Suppiluliuma, 24, 25-26
- Sethos I (kg of Egypt), Table, 50; length of reign, 38
- Shechem (n.l.), 22
- Sidon (n.l.), 17, 20, 29; Table, 40, 45
- Šigata (n.l.), 26; Table, 41
- Smenkhkarē (kg of Egypt), 5; Table, 46; co-regency with Akhenaten, 8-9, 11-12, 20; death, 32-33; length of reign, 8
- Su ... (n.m.), Lists, 54 (C)
- Summeris (n.m.), Lists, 54 (F)
- Summiris (qu), Lists, 53 (E)
- Šumur (n.l.), 19; Table, 41, 42, 44; captured by Abdi-aširta from Ribaddi, 21, 27, 32; captured by Aziru from Ribaddi, 17, 21, 28-31 *passim*; excludes Aziru, 17; regained by Ribaddi, 28; visited by Tušratta, 13, 21, 27
- Suppiluliuma I (kg of Hatti), Table, 39-44, 46-49; 51, 52; Lists, 54 (G), 55 (C); alliance with Artatama II, 25, 32; date and length of reign, 23-24; first Syrian foray, 24, 25, 27, 35; 'First' Syrian War, 2, 4, 12, 13, 15-17 *passim*, 18 n.5, 21-30 *passim*, 31-32 (date), 35; forces Aziru into treaty-vassalage, 18-19, 18 n.5, 29, 32f. (date); in Syria between the two Wars?, 16 n.7, 29; Niqmad II his subject-ally, 2, 18, 34; letter to Akhenaten, 22; order and significance of queens, 1, 2, 5; pressure on Ammistamru I, 34-35; second Syrian foray, 25, 27, 32 (date), 35; 'Second' Syrian War, 2, 4, 15, 16 n.7, 18 n.5, 22, 33, 52
- Suta (n.l.), 3, 4; Table, 42
- Šutatarra, see Šuttarna (kg of Qadesh)
- Šuttarna (var. Šutatarra; kg of Qadesh), 3 n.2, 13, 16; Table, 44
- Šuttarna II (kg of Mitanni), 25; Table, 39
- Šuttarna III (kg of Mitanni), 4, 18 n.5, 25; Table, 48, 49
- Sutu (auxiliary troops), 14 n.3
- Syria (n.l.), 17-19 *passim*, 21, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 35-37 *passim*; Table, 40, 47, 50

INDEX

- Taduhepa (qu), 24, 33; Table, 40, 41
 Taite (n.l.), Table, 48
 Takipšarri (kg of Nuḥašše), 28 n.6;
 Table, 44, 49
 Takišarruma (n.m.), Lists, 55 (D, E bis)
 Takuwa (kg of Niy), 14 n.4; Table, 43
 Tawananna (qu of Labarnas I), Lists,
 53 (B)
 Tawananna (third qu of Suppiluliuma),
 Table, 50; Lists, 55 (*KUB XXV*; C);
 also called Malnigal ?, 1 n.3; name on
 documents, 1, 2; relative date, 5, 33
 ... tawanna (qu), Lists, 53 (A)
 Tegarama (n.l.), 51
 Telipinus (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (B, C)
 Telipinus (kg of Aleppo), 2, 3, 4; Table,
 47; 51; Lists, 54 (F, E), 55 (E bis)
 Tette (kg of Nuḥašše), 37; Table, 49, 50;
 51
 Thebes (n.l.), 8, 9, 33
 Thoth (god), 6 n.4
 Tiglathpileser III (kg of Assyria), 26 n.1
 Tiya (qu), Table, 41
 Tudkhalia I (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (C)
 Tudkhalia II (kg of Hatti), 1 n.2; Lists,
 54 (E)
 Tudkhalia III (kg of Hatti), 4 n.1; Table,
 39; 52; Lists, 54 mg
 Tudkhalia IV (kg of Hatti), 37 n.6
 Tušratta (kg of Mitanni), 7 n.1; Table, 39-
 42, 48; attacks Šarrupši, 13, 26, 27, 31;
 daughter marries Amenophis III, 24, 33;
 dates of Syrian campaigns, 32; defeated
 in 'First' Syrian War, 12; defeated in
 'second' Syrian foray, 25; defeats Hit-
 tites in first Syrian foray, 24, 35; length
 and date of reign, 33; visits Šumur, 21, 27
 Tutankhamūn (kg of Egypt), 5, 7 n.1, 10,
 12, 20, 22; Table, 46-48; death, 2, 33;
 length of reign 9; see also Nibḥururiya
 Tutankhaten, see Tutankhamūn
 Tuthmosis III (kg of Egypt), 7 n.2, 13
 Tuthmosis IV (kg of Egypt), 13, 34 n.3
 Tuwanuwa (n.l.), 51
 Tyre (n.l.), 9, 17; Table, 41, 42, 45; aban-
 doned by Abimilki ?, 30; changes of
 ruler, 21, 27, 28; 'city of Mayati', 19
 Udanna (n.l.), 51
 Ugarit (n.l.), 2, 34; Table, 40, 42-43, 46,
 50; 52; contacts with Egypt, 34-37;
 dispute with Amurru settled, 18, 29, 32;
 forces requested by Carchemish, 15 n.2
 Ukulzat (n.l.), Table, 44
 Ullaza (n.l.), 28
 Upper-lands (n.l.), 51
 Urḫi-Tešup or Mursil III (kg of Hatti),
 Lists, 55mg.
 Uzu or Palaetyrus (n.l.), 30
 Walanni (qu), 1 n.2; Lists 53 (*KUB XXV*)
 Walanni (princess), 52; Lists, 55 (F, D,
 E, E bis)
 Wašukanni (n.l.), Table, 42, 48
 Zannanza (prince), Table, 48
 Zidantas I (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53mg
 Zidantas II (kg of Hatti), Lists, 53 (E,
 B, C)
 Zidanza (n.m.), Lists, 54 (F), 55 (E)
 Zimrida (kg of Sidon), 17, 30, 31; Table,
 45
 Zippalanda (n.l.), Lists, 55 (F)

